Reading Agency:
The Making of Modern German Childhoods in the Age of Revolutions

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation demonstrates how active reading and writing became a defining feature of childhood during the age of revolutions. Beginning in educated middle-class families at the end of the Enlightenment and disseminating across European society by the end of the nineteenth century, a series of radical transformations occurred in the ideologies and practices of childhood: as a life stage, it was increasingly positioned as critical to self-formation; adults began to worry about entertaining children in active ways; sentimental attitudes influenced children's learning; and at the same time, pedagogues and parents emphasized the cultivation of self-discipline. Pedagogical innovations, the development of new book genres and markets, and an increased emphasis on bourgeois domesticity joined to make German-speaking Central Europe a vital site for reimagining childhood.

The development of modern childhood has traditionally been understood as a process enacted on youth by adults, but in practice children's socialization was mediated by young people's own choices. To better understand the roles children played in transformations of modern life, there is now a need for studies which combine the history of changing sentiments with the history of children's lived experience. In addition to the ideas and practices of pedagogues and family educators, we also must consider the part children played. Rather than dismissing the disciplinary aspects of pedagogy or overlooking the power of children to influence adults, my approach emphasizes the mutual constitution of agency and discipline in determining how children influenced European modernity.

Reading Agency furthermore shows how children participated in inventing the modern self. I argue that the emergence of the active child reader and writer was not simply a consequence of expanding literacy, but, in fact, a key constituent of modern life. The dissertation is organized as a series of case studies in literacy practices—youth periodicals, fairy tales, geographic schoolbooks, children's letters, and youth diaries—which each demonstrate the complex and socially embedded ways in which children form opinions, exercise power, and make history.

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CHAPTER 1
Understanding Childhood in the Age of Revolutions

March 9 [1830]
Today it was such beautiful weather that we went walking until it was almost 3 o'clock. In the afternoon we were with Frau Doktarin.

10.
I know nothing to write about today other than that it always rained.

11.
Today – it rained again the whole day.
This should not be a weather almanac!

12.
In the afternoon we brought Father the first primrose from the garden and a little bunch of violets with many blooming buds.

13.
This morning I learned how to bind off and cast on stockings. After dinner there was lightning and thunder.[1]

As a material object, the diary that Marie Seybold kept from 1830 to 1831 weighs very little. Two slim, unadorned notebooks are filled in a compact hand, with uneven lines drawn between each of five or six dated entries per page. Held together, both volumes of the diary are small enough to rest on an archivist's palm.

As a personal record of Marie's education, opinions, and daily experiences from age 10 to 11, the diary is freighted with potential meaning. It documents the practices that shaped how a middle-class German girl grew up during an era of radical transformations in

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[1] "März 9. Heute war es so schön Wetter daß wir, bis es gleich--- 3 Uhr war, spazieren giengen. Den Nachmittag waren wir bey Frau Doktarin [sic]. 10. Von Heute weis ich nichts zu schreiben als das es immer regnete. 11. Heute - regnete es wieder den ganzen Tag. [in a different hand:] Es Soll kein Wetterkalender seyn! 12. Den Nachmittag brachte uns der Vater das erste Primele aus dem Garten und ein Veilchen Stöckchen mit vielen ~~Knöschen~~. Bluthen Knöpfen. 13. Diesen Morgen lernte ich den Strumpf beschließen und anfangen. Nach dem Essen blizte und donnerte es." Marie Seybold, diary, 9-13 March 1830, Q 3/48 Bü 3, Familiennachlass Schmidt, HSAS (see bibliography for list of archive abbreviations). Born September 12, 1819 to a Protestant family of jurists and bureaucrats in Württemberg, Marie Seybold is one of six young writers whose diaries I examine closely in Chapter 6. I have chosen to refer to children and youth by their given names in order to avoid confusion when discussing several members of the same family.

the ideology and experiences of childhood. With their bureaucratic professions and social network, the Seybold family exemplified the emerging class of the "Bildungsbürgertum," for whom children's education was essential to securing bourgeois success.[2] Marie's diary is thus useful as an archival record of the social habits and pedagogic practices of this increasingly influential class. But Marie's diary furthermore reveals—as when an adult reader critiqued her repetition in the exchange above—how a child could exert agency in that education. After the "weather almanac" admonishment, Marie continued to write very similar, short entries, often still preoccupied with the weather. The evidence presented by Marie's diary thus adds to the story told through the prescriptive ideology documented by adults. It confirms what anyone who interacts with or has been a child knows: that children did not always behave the way adults expect them to. At the same time, Marie kept track of her days in this form because adults required it of her: she made choices and expressed herself within clear constraints, which even included a contradictory requirement to be more independently creative. How can this complex relationship between agency and discipline be explained? To understand the developments in the history of the family, education, and the self that continue to shape our modern social world, we need studies that consider children's practices alongside pedagogy and prescriptive ideology.

If Marie's diary illustrates the productive tension between governance and agency that colored children's education (ideas which I will address in more detail below), it also demonstrates how children did not always behave the way I, as historian, have expected them to. Indeed, I originally tracked down diaries like this one in hopes that such documents

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[2] Although sometimes defined around a specific set of occupations (e.g. civil service and the "free" professions of medicine or law) and the families of those professionals, "Bildungsbürgertum" is more commonly used to identify a German social class defined by their preoccupation with education and self-formation ("Bildung"). See Jürgen Kocka, *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), especially Volume I pp. 43–46 and Volume II.

would be replete with useful evidence for my planned study of children's literature. I sought children's creative reflections on their relationships with books or thoughtful opinions about their reading. Instead, these child-authored texts helped me realize that children's writing is an intriguing and important practice in itself, independent of its value as a source for getting at a child's take on reading. Children's writing has still received very little attention from historians, but in practice writing and reading were intertwined in middle- and upper-class education. They are accordingly considered alongside one another in this study.

In the middle of the 18th century, even though more and more children were being taught basic literacy skills, few books were designed with child readers in mind. How, then, did active reading become a defining feature of idealized middle-class childhood a century later?[3] To explain this transformation, I have approached my research with these questions: Which children read? What texts did children really read, and how did they read them? What genres and in what settings did children write? Why were reading and writing promoted as the ideal means for children to engage new sentimental modes? What role did pedagogues and parents believe literacy could hold in children's development? How did amusement and instruction overlap and intersect in didactic entertainment? The diverse texts children read offer contradictory messages about individual choice, learning and discipline, gender, the nation, and the family. In what ways might children have resisted, subverted, absorbed, or been influenced by their education?

Beginning in educated middle-class families at the end of the Enlightenment and disseminating across European society by the end of the nineteenth century, a series of

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[3] As this dissertation and other works in the history of childhood have demonstrated, the term "child" is an unstable one, and far from universal. Across class and gender, the markers of youth and adulthood (among others: work, education, marital status, dress, naming, and religious or other cultural initiations) varied greatly. However, in general the children and youth I discuss were old enough to talk and perhaps to read but not yet at the transition to adulthood most commonly signified in my case by marriage. This entails a wider age range than definitions in the twenty-first-century US—roughly from 5 to 20 years old.

radical transformations occurred in the ideologies and practices of childhood, a set of developments that I have named "the emergence of the active child reader":

- Childhood was increasingly positioned as critical to the formation of the self.
- Pedagogues and parents emphasized the cultivation of self-control (although this self-mastery was gendered, racialized, and classed).
- Concern for protecting children's innocence and guiding their malleable moral development was heightened.
- Educators idealized the power and creativity of individual intellect.
- Sentimental attitudes and aesthetics increasingly shaped children's learning.
- The domestic setting of education (especially for early childhood) grew in importance.
- More than ever before, adults at least claimed to care about entertaining children in active ways through their education.
- Relatedly, they were preoccupied with capturing children's attention and shaping their learning response.
- Young people's social networks changed in character and significance.
- New genres, texts, and practices opened up opportunities for children to exert agency in their education and leave traces of it as they resisted, negotiated, inhabited, ignored, followed, imitated, and reframed these pedagogic efforts.

To fully account for these transformations in the history of education and the family, I argue that in addition to attending to the ideas and practices of pedagogues and family educators, we also need to consider the part children played. Therefore, in each chapter of this dissertation, where I explore the emergence of specific genres produced for and by children, I incorporate investigation into the active child reader and writer.

By documenting the emergence of the active child reader, this dissertation shows how children participated in reinventing the modern self during the years around 1800. Historians have identified the formation of modern subjectivities across a range of settings from theological disputes to commerce to political associations—but these studies have largely relied on the writing of adults. Meanwhile, the emerging field of childhood studies has contributed rich but sometimes ahistorical analysis of the child's development and social roles. By bringing these approaches together, my work makes a crucial contribution to

debates about Western modernity. Traces of children's experiences such as those I have uncovered give insight into the formation of the self not only individually across the life course, but also historically—that is, the changing practices of children's socialization within families reveal the workings of modernity. I argue that the emergence of the active child reader and writer was not simply a consequence of expanding literacy, but, in fact, a key constituent of modern life.

The position of children as a central preoccupation of modern institutions and processes—the family, the state, mass schooling, class stratification, industrialization, imperialism, and so on—has been well documented.[4] What is less understood is the part children played, not only in their own experiences, but in the development of modernity itself. There is now a need for research that combines the cultural history of changing sentiments with the social history of children's lived experience. The development of modern childhood and the history of education has traditionally been understood as a process enacted on youth by adult elites, but in practice children's socialization in families and schools was mediated by young people's own choices and experiences.

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[4] Despite criticisms and amendments to his bold thesis concerning "The Discovery of Childhood," Philippe Ariès continues to be cited widely in histories of childhood across comparative contexts. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Developments in the literature on transformations of childhood and youth in Western European modernity can be traced through works such as John Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School, and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Macmillan, 1981); Rachel Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health and Education Among the "Classes Populaires"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991); Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: River Orams Press, 1996); Edward Ross Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Mary Jo Maynes, Birgitte Søland, and Christina Benninghaus, eds., *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750-1960* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005); David Hamlin, *Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

To decipher the workings of children's agency, we need to marshall a diverse set of sources, including texts like Marie Seybold's diary. Judged from one vantage point, Marie's life was ordinary and unremarkable. Her childhood was spent in a provincial town; her eventual husband worked in the action-packed fields of beet sugar production and dairy farm studs. But it requires only a slight shift of perspective to recognize a life lived in momentous circumstances. A hundred miles from her hometown of Brackenheim, Marie's cousins were separated from their parents for two years after they fled the Jacobins' 1793 occupation of Alsace.[5] Later, a different Seybold cousin served as the representative of Heilbronn at the short-lived reformers' parliament in Württemberg during 1848-49.[6] Marie's story is thus bracketed by intimate family ties to the upheaval of the French Revolution and the failed revolutions of 1848. The century between 1750 and 1850 was pivotal not only for changes in the political map of Europe, technologies that transformed daily life, and the fundamental social order, but also for the history of childhood. In this tumultuous era, pedagogical innovations, the development of new book genres and markets, and an increased emphasis on bourgeois domesticity joined to make German-speaking Central Europe a vital site for reimagining childhood. From the creation of modern Christmas to the revision of folktales for a child audience, German families lived at the center of these transformations.

In this chapter, I first introduce the significance of this era and region for the history of childhood. The second section of the chapter surveys the key sites and ideologies of children's education in the age of revolutions. In the third section, I articulate my approach

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[5] Marie's father's uncle, David Christian Seybold, was a philosopher who took a position in Strasbourg in 1792. His children had been sent ahead and made it home to Brackenheim, but Seybold was jailed on suspicion of aristocratic sentiments. Eberhard E. von Georgii-Georgenau, *Biographisch-genealogische Blätter aus und über Schwaben* (Stuttgart: Emil Müller, 1879), 915.

[6] Joseph Friedrich Wilhelm von Seybold (1799–1874) represented Heilbronn as one of the 70 elected representatives in the Second Chamber at the Württembergische Landstände (1848–1849). Frank Raberg, *Biographisches Handbuch der württembergischen Landtagsabgeordneten (1815-1933)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001).

to studying the complex interaction between agency and discipline in the history of children's education. The section that follows accounts for the scholarship that has guided my interpretation of texts for children, including theories of reading and literacy studies. Finally, the chapter concludes with an overview of my sources and an outline of the dissertation.

Time and Place

Age of revolutions

The pivotal era surveyed in this dissertation witnessed tremendous social, economic, and political upheaval across Europe and the world. In the introduction to a collection that spans 1300 to 1900, Christopher Johnson and David Sabean characterize the transitional period I investigate as follows: "Although it was an age of new horizons and thrilling possibilities, the instability of virtually every aspect of life in the mad century of unprecedented transformation bridging the year 1800 cannot be doubted."[7] Childhood and literacy, I will argue, count among the sites for those radical changes in this "mad century."

Although modest compared to the Big History movement or the calls for "long-termism" in *The History Manifesto* of Jo Guldi and David Armitage, the horizon of time spanned by this dissertation is of somewhat longer *durée* than much event-driven history.[8] The pace of cultural change is related to the historian's difficulty of pinpointing exact moments of transition for such questions. Describing French fairy tales as neither tied to particular dates nor universally timeless, Robert Darnton suggests that "precision may be inappropriate as well as impossible in the history of *mentalités*...world views cannot be chronicled in the manner of political events, but they are no less 'real.'"[9] The cultural and social constructions that mattered so much to how childhood was imagined and experienced in Europe changed not over a period of years, but in imprecise, overlapping ways across decades.

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[7] Christopher Johnson and David Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300-1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900*, ed. Johnson and Sabean (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 12.
[8] Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[9] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 22-23.

There are a number of terms for the century that lies roughly between 1750 and 1850. I have chosen to refer to the "age of revolutions," as explained below, but other possibilities also usefully reveal different aspects of European or world history. One is Reinhart Kosseleck's formulation "der Sattelzeit," whose geological invocation of a mountain saddle (or "anticline") captures a sense both of stratification and of these years as sitting on the cusp between the early modern and modernity.[10] A second designation that I use occasionally in this dissertation (especially in Chapters 2 and 4) is the "late Enlightenment" or "die Spätaufklärung," connoting particularly literary and philosophical developments that extended from the mid-eighteenth into the early nineteenth century. As a period, the Enlightenment was not only important to the development of Western philosophy but also a time when ideas about knowledge, morality, and the human condition were changing and moving across contexts. Ruth-Ellen Joeres writes of the German Enlightenment as "a time long past in which we ourselves, and how we in the western world still often think and act and judge, are reflected."[11] This is especially true in terms of gender and class, although the changes were not necessarily as broadening or democratic as the word "Enlightenment" itself implies. Still, as Joeres argues, the Enlightenment's "emphasis on theories (no matter how flawed in practice) of education, culture, and the popularisation of ideas nevertheless significantly benefited those, both women and men, who were on the margin."[12] These ideas will be addressed more fully below, especially in terms of pedagogic philosophies.

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[10] Among many essays on the Sattelzeit concept, see Reinhart Kosseleck, "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert als Beginn der Neuzeit," in *Epochenschwelle und Epochenbewusstsein*, ed. Reinhart Herzog and Reinhart Koselleck 269-82 (Munich: W. Fink Verlag, 1987).

[11] Ruth-Ellen Joeres, "The German Enlightenment (1720-1790)," in *The Cambridge History of German Literature*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 150.

[12] Joeres, "The German Enlightenment," 200-1.

Part of the era of concern here (1815-1848) is often designated by a third term, particularly relevant both to the German context and to middle-class domesticity: "Biedermeier," which meant more than just furniture design for an era characterized by intimate family life. As Dagmar Grenz writes, it is unsurprising that the Biedermeier period —associated as it was with the Enlightenment's legacy, a "preference for didactic forms," and a "love for the small and inconspicuous"—left such an important imprint on the development of German children's literature.[13] Finally, the importance of literacy and print culture in this dissertation also make the "Information Age" a relevant frame. Although the idea of a singular Information Age is inaccurate, Daniel Headrick characterizes "periods of sharp *acceleration*" in the creation of and access to information, including this era. He writes,

> Between the printing revolution and the [mid] nineteenth century lies a period that was less significant for its information-handling *machines* but just as fertile in new information *systems*....the cultural revolution in information systems "the "software," if you like) preceded its material ("hardware") revolution.[14]

Headrick explores the transition from an era when "engravings were costly, maps were rare, and most people saw few paintings in their lifetime," to a world steeped in visual presentations of information. The computers we live with every day in the twenty-first century, Headrick argues, only responded to a demand for representations to information that originated in earlier centuries.[15] Information revolutions shaped children's experiences in

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[13] "Das Biedermeier hat das "Volk" und die Kinder als Leser bewußt miteinbezogen und einer Unterhaltungsliteratur zu neuer Blüte verholfen, in der sich "hohe Kunst und triviale Poeterei" einander annäherten. Denkt man an weitere Merkmale des Biedermeier—die Anknüpfung an die aufklärerische Tradition des 18. Jahrhunderts, die Vorliebe für didaktische Formen und die kleine Form insgesamt, schließlich die biedermeierliche Liebe für das Kleine und Unscheinbare, die Idyllisierung des häuslichen Glücks und nicht zuletzt die von der Romantik übernommene Vorstellung von der Kindheit als unschuldigem Paradies—, so nimmt es nicht wunder, daß das Biedermeier zu einer Epoche wurde, die, wie M. Dierks und K. Doderer feststellen, einen großen Einfluß auf die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur ausübte." Dagmar Grenz, *Mädchenliteratur: Von den moralisch-belehrenden Schriften im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Herausbildung der Backfischliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981), 206.

[14] Daniel Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7-9.

[15] Headrick, *When Information Came of Age*, 134-35.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the introduction of the machine press in 1814 and rapidly expanding markets, technological and creative opportunities opened up for publishers, from the size of pages to the use of engravings and color, all with ramifications for children's book printing.[16]

The frame I have chosen to use most often in this dissertation, "age of revolutions," invokes both political and economic upheavals that reshaped European society.[17] What marks these years as *the* age of revolutions? According to David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, the term covers a range of overlapping historical developments including more than just violent political change around the globe: the dissemination of ideas about popular sovereignty and natural rights; the development of secessionist independence and written constitutions; the rise of nationalisms and early decolonization; the first efforts to abolish the slave trade; and the productivity and (partial) prosperity of the Industrial Revolution. In their critique of its Eurocentrism, Armitage and Subrahmanyam acknowledge how this term and its attendant assumptions actually emerged from the period itself (through the writings of Hegel and others).[18] It is nevertheless useful for understanding developments that profoundly affected family life as an interface between the individual and broad political or social change.

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[16] Rob Banham, "The Industrialization of the Book, 1800-1970," in *A Companion to the History of the Book,* ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 273-90 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007). Brian Alderson notes some of the interesting consequences of printing limitations in the earlier part of the period, for example, that publishers often added extra verses, fables, and riddles to fill valuable extra space. Alderson, "The Making of Children's Books," in *The Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. Matthew O. Grenby and Andrea Immel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 40-41.

[17] In addressing both the French Revolution and the industrial revolution here, I am drawing on Eric Hobsbawm's formulation in *The Age of Revolutions: 1789-1848* (New York: New American Library, 1962).

[18] David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Introduction: The Age of Revolutions, c. 1760-1840 – Global Causation, Connection, and Comparison," in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), ii. The historiographic starting point for Armitage and Subrahmanyam on characterizing this era comes from critiques of both R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959-1964; repr., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014) and Hobsbawm.

The industrial revolution reshaped European family life in a number of ways, starting with rapidly growing markets of the late eighteenth century that created new kinds of child consumers, and changing occupational structures that demanded new forms of child socialization.[19] Additionally, urbanization altered many families' daily life and relations; indeed, increasing numbers of the middle-class children I study lived in cities. Innovations in technology affected some aspects of daily life (most importantly for this dissertation in terms of print). Household forms adapted in some social classes in response to industrialization, although the various arrangements of families remained diverse and complex in this period.[20] Class cultures of family life also evolved in response to industrialization, including the cultivation of privacy for bourgeois families. David Hamlin addresses this specifically in the context of childhood, writing in conversation with Foucault, "With the task of producing *bürgerliche* individuals in mind, many parents began to enforce a physical separation of their children from the world outside, creating, as the private sphere, a space 'heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself.'"[21] Important work on class formation in the German context has thus long attended to the role of the family, including studies by Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, Gunilla Budde, and Jason Tebbe.[22]

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[19] This is a broad field, but some representative works on child labor, welfare in the era of industrialization, children and consumer culture, and related topics are: Dennis Denisoff, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Fuchs, *Abandoned Children* (1984); Hamlin, *Work and Play* (2007); Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France* (1988); Peter Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain, 1750-1870* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Mary Jo Maynes, *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2006).

[20] David I. Kertzer, "Living with Kin," in *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 40-72.

[21] Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 24.

[22] Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die deutsche Familie: Versuch einer Sozialgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1974); Weber-Kellermann, *Die Kindheit: Kleidung und Wohnen, Arbeit und Spiel, eine Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Insel-Verlag, 1979); Gunilla Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in Deutschen und Englischen Bürgerfamilien, 1840-1914* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Budde, *Blütezeit des Bürgertums* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Jason Tebbe, "Landscapes of Remembrance: Home and Memory in the Nineteenth-Century *Bürgertum*," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 2 (2008): 195-215.

The effects of the French Revolution and subsequent revolutions were similarly uneven across Europe, but nevertheless widely felt. A book from the childhood library of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath offers one particularly straightforward example: his copy of the *New Pocket Dictionary: French-German and German-French* (1802) not only promised to explain all the weights and measures of the new republic, but also had this to say in the preface:

> Because the French Revolution not only produced many new words, but has also called back some expressions from the past, and partly given them new meanings, partly retained their old, thus they are all carefully noted in this work, and identified with the abbreviation n.c. (new creation) in both parts [of the dictionary].[23]

For two examples of how German versions of vocabulary borrowed from French had recently been nationalized ("purified"), the preface offered "artillery" (die Artillerie) and "bayonet" (das Bajonnet). The impact of the French Revolution of course extended beyond linguistics, to radical new political ideals and geographic upheaval.

One strategy that states took up in response to the threats of political unrest was through the project of mass schooling. In Richard Gawthrop's classic text comparing the two major literacy drives of German history (in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries), he argues that the purpose and effects of the later campaigns were conditioned by absolutism and the German Enlightenment. First, "absolutist governments realized that they needed to do more than merely impose an external discipline on their subjects."[24] A modernization program required the cultivation of self-discipline to serve the state's needs. Anyone who

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[23] "Da die Französische Revolution nicht nur viele neue Wörter erzeugt, sondern auch einige Ausdrücke aus der Vergessenheit zurück gerufen, und ihnen theils neue Bedeutungen gegeben, theils ihre alten beybehalten hat; so sind sie alle in diesem Werke sorgfältig bemerkt, und durch die Abkürzung n.c. (nouvelle création) in beiden Teilen besonders bezeichnet worden." *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Poche Français-Allemand et Allemand-Français*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Chrétien Théophile Rabenhorst, 1802), vii. This preface is presented bilingually, side-by-side. Freiligrath's collection of 34 children's books and school texts has been preserved at the Lippische Landesbibliothek in Detmold.

[24] Richard Gawthrop, "Literacy Drives in Preindustrial Germany," in *National Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Robert Arnove and Harvey Graff (New York: Plenum Press, 1987), 39.

has witnessed the extraordinary bureaucratic efforts of eighteenth-century Central European states as documented today in German archives can see the critical role of literacy across those projects. Second, the ideals promoted by German Enlightenment thinkers depended on self-controlled diligence and obedience—as Gawthrop writes, "emphasizing the teaching of practical skills and responsible citizenship. These priorities reflected the commitment of the Enlightenment to educating subjects who would conform to the demands placed on them by 'modernization,' not in a spirit of mechanical obedience, but 'from a rational understanding of rights and duties.'"[25] In this sense, I argue throughout this dissertation that children's reading and writing practices were an essential means of becoming modern.

The French Revolution initiated a political situation in Europe that reshaped not only states and laws but also households and subjectivities. Effects on the family were felt across Europe in different ways. Suzanne Desan, for a French example, took a social and legal approach to the history of the family in *The Family on Trial in the French Revolution*, which argues that the family was central to new understandings of the relationship between society and the state.[26] It is worth noting that much of the work on family history during the Enlightenment and the French Revolution has emerged from the history of women and gender, including Desan's study and research by Sarah Maza, Dena Goodman, Jennifer Popiel, and others.[27]

This social and political flux make the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries an exciting period for historians of childhood. On the cusp of eras conventionally defined as early modern and modern, traditional and innovative ideas about how children should be

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[25] Gawthrop, "Literacy Drives," 42.
[26] Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
[27] Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Stephanie M. Hilger, *Gender and Genre: German Women Write the French Revolution* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015).

educated coexisted sometimes in conflict and sometimes in surprising harmony. Reading particularly demonstrates such a dialectic, in which oral communication and traditions were not displaced everywhere by the rise of print but persisted in certain ways alongside increases in literacy.[28] As the social and political landscapes of Europe shifted during the age of revolutions, dramatic changes followed in schooling, children's literature, gender systems, and the family.

German lands

Figure 1. "Germany"
Plate IV from Adam Christian Gaspari's *New Methodical School Atlas* (1804)[29]

[28] "Oral culture and its fundamental significance do not simply vanish under the attack of print, schooling, and modernization...A better understanding of their changing relations is required." Harvey Graff, *The Literacy Myth* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 305-06. "Literacy: what a deceptive term that is if taken to imply a beginning—when no one can read or write—and an end—when everyone can!...But this long submerged history is not the story of a radical substitution of written for oral culture." François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Reading and Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 305.

[29] Adam Christian Gaspari, *Neuer methodischer Schul-Atlas* (Weimar: Verlag des Geographischen Institut, 1804).

Source: Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung.

To explain why Germany is such a significant place in the history of childhood, I must first acknowledge that it was still a social and cultural imaginary during this era. Prior to unification in 1871, German-speaking Central Europe was famously a patchwork of disordered states, kingdoms, fiefs, and other territories. Of the nominally unifying body that encompassed these entities, Voltaire wrote that it was "in no way holy, nor Roman, nor an empire."[30] The number of independent states and territories is surprisingly difficult to state with certainty.

That said, this common perception of Central Europe as entirely politically fragmented is somewhat misleading. Geographer Martin Lewis has shown how twentieth and twenty-first century cartographic representations of the Holy Roman Empire that attempt to capture each minor territory differ significantly from conceptions evident in contemporary maps.[31] Matters of linguistics, regional cultures, and political significance, rather, dictated the choices made in the early modern geographic imagination. Lewis presents an example from 1751, in which cartographer Robert de Vaugondy included a few major states (such as Bohemia) but relied more on geopolitical features than the strict division of quasi-sovereignty. In my research into German childhood, I follow the lead of recent scholarship that considers the region as a whole even before 1871, seeking, as Jason Coy puts it, "less to provide assessments of the empire's *Staatlichkeit*, than to examine the empire and its institutions as a framework for political and intellectual interaction."[32] While

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[30] "Ce corps qui s'appelait et qui s'appelle encore le Saint empire romain n'était en aucune manière ni Saint, ni romain, ni empire." Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (Paris: Arvensa), 520 [Chapter 70].
[31] Martin W. Lewis, "The Ambiguities of Sovereignty in Early Modern Central Europe," *GeoCurrents* (blog), April 12, 2011, http://www.geocurrents.info/geographical-thought/the-ambiguities-of-sovereignty-in-early-modern-central-europe.
[32] Jason Coy, "Introduction: The Holy Roman Empire in History and Historiography," in *The Holy Roman Empire, Reconsidered*, ed. Jason Philip Coy, Benjamin Marshke, and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 3.

contested, German unification was not an instantaneous invention—ideas of Germany existed in earlier linguistic and cultural frameworks, and it is the engagement of German-speaking children with those ideas that interests me in this study. The families whose letters and diaries I examine in Part III, as well as the authors whose books I analyze in Part II, came from a broad set of regions including Schleswig in the north (which then belonged to Denmark); various places in Prussia, especially in and around Berlin; Saxony in central Germany; Westphalia and Lippe in the west; Bavaria and especially Baden-Württemberg in the south; as well as publishing houses in Vienna. For these actors, class and language were in many ways more salient unifying categories than the regional differences that separated them.

Why, then, is German history so fruitful a terrain for the investigation of developments in modern western childhood? Differences between the development of class relations in German history and the rest of Europe have been hotly debated for decades.[33] Although Central Europe was somewhat at the margins of early industrialization, various modern developments that this dissertation addresses in class dynamics, pedagogy and schooling, and the history of the book happened earlier there than elsewhere. German literacy rates were particularly high compared to the rest of Europe: for example, by 1850, 85% of Prussia's population could read and write, compared with 52% in England and 61% reading literacy in France.[34] German speakers also lived at the crossroads of the European book trade, with centers in Leipzig, Hamburg, and Vienna.

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[33] For classics on the so-called *Sonderweg* debate, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871-1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973) and David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). For an updated review, see Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, "Modernization, German Exceptionalism, and Post-Modernity: Transcending the Critical History of Society" in *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 85-108.

[34] Kenneth Barkin, "Social Control and the Volksschule in Vormärz Prussia," *Central European History*, 16, no. 1 (1983): 50.

In addition to these broader comparisons, German-speaking Central Europe offers a particularly salient case study for the examination of changes in childhood and children's reading. According to some measures, the choice of Germany is an obvious one. For example, Central Europe is the origin of the modern bourgeois Christmas as a family celebration, part of the cultural construction of childhood.[35] It was two German brothers, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who made the European tradition of fairy tales an essential component of children's reading around the world.[36] German pedagogical thinkers played a key role in the development of institutional schooling throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe.[37] As Harvey Graff puts it, "Prussia, revealingly, took the lead [in modern reforms of schooling], and provided a laboratory that United States, Canadian, English, French, and Scandinavian school promoters and reformers regularly came to study."[38]

Pioneering work in the history of German childhoods came out of interest in education and social histories of the family, where these topics initially received more attention in the German context than elsewhere in Europe, and the early nineteenth century

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[35] David Hamlin, "The Structures of Toy Consumption: Bourgeois Domesticity and Demand for Toys in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 857-869; Joe Perry, *Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[36] For one study of the transnational influence of the Grimms, see Cay Dollerup, *Tales and Translation: The Grimm Tales from Pan-Germanic Narratives to Shared International Fairy Tales* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1999). On the impact of German children's literature in general on other traditions, see David Blamires, *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children's Books 1780-1918* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2009).

[37] Friedrich Froebel's early nineteenth-century kindergarten movement, for example, quickly expanded around the world. Roberta Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). On Horace Mann's influential trip from the US to report on on Prussian schools, see Clarence J. Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education: A History of American Educational Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 220–24.

[38] Harvey Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 14.

was a key period of inquiry.[39] But more recent histories of German childhood have focused on later time periods, especially the imperial period, and topics such as consumption or sexuality.[40] The role of the age of revolutions in shaping modern childhood has largely not been revisited. Studies and encyclopedias of children's literature across disciplines (including literary criticism, education research, library science, childhood studies, and queer studies) have proliferated for decades.[41] Yet common assumptions about the history of children's books are often too narrowly focused on the twentieth-century Anglo-American context.[42] I

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[39] See, for example, Peter Lundgreen, "Industrialization and the Educational Formation of Manpower in Germany," *Journal of Social History* 9 (1975): 4-80; Katharina Rudetsky, ed., *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1977); Robert J. Evans and W. Robert Lee, eds., *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); James C. Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Andreas Gestrich and Susanne Mutschler, *Ohmenhausen: Kindheit, Jugend und Familie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Reutlingen: Stadtverwaltung, 1984); Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling for the People: Comparative Local Studies of Schooling History in France and Germany, 1750-1850* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985); Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Kinderstuben: Wie Kinder zu Bauern, Bürgern, Aristokraten wurden 1700-1850* (Munich: Taschenbuch, 1987); Marjorie Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Mary Jo Maynes and Thomas Taylor, "Germany," in *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide*, ed. Joseph Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, 305-331 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

[40] For example, Hamlin, *Work and Play* (2007); Bryan Ganaway, *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009); Andrew C. Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: War Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[41] A few key examples here include Bettina Hürlimann, *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe,* trans. Brian Alderson (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967); Hubert Göbels, *Hundert alte Kinderbücher aus Barock und Aufklärung: Eine illustrierte Bibliographie* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1980); Klaus Doderer, *Literarische Jugendkultur: Kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Aspekte der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Deutschland* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1992); Hans-Heino Ewers, "Children's Literature Research in Germany," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (2002): 158-65; Heinz Wegehaupt, *Alte deutsche Kinderbücher: Bibliographie, 1521-1900* (Stuttgart: Hauswedell, 2003); Penny Brown, *A Critical History of French Children's Literature: Volume One, 1600-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Kate McDowell, "Children's Voices in Librarians' Words, 1890-1930," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 46, no. 1 (2011): 73-101.

[42] This is partly because many classic works on children's literature have come out of the English-language context, including John Rowe Townsend, *Written for Children: An Outline of English-language Children's Literature* (Harmondsworth, UK: Kestrel Books, 1965); Geoffrey Summerfield, *Fantasy and Reason: Children's Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985); Mary V. Jackson, *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Zipes et al., *The Norton Anthology of Children's Literature: The Traditions in English* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).

aim to connect new work on childhood studies with the rich tradition of German children's literature.[43]

While this dissertation seeks to contribute to the comparative history of childhood by investigating this essential German case, my analysis throughout is also informed by research in the broader European context. Transnational publishing (and pilfering) of texts for children was common throughout the nineteenth century, and even a genre of children's literature as seemingly iconic to Germany as fairy tales had strong roots in other linguistic traditions.[44] In many ways, the transformation of ideologies and experiences of childhood was a class-specific but cross-European phenomenon; for examples of how this pattern developed in other geographic contexts, see Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker (the Netherlands), Jennifer Popiel (France), and Anna Kuxhausen (Russia).[45]

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[43] One signal of the German market's prominence in the development of Western children's literature is the fact that German scholars began conducting serious research on children's books and the history of texts for young people earlier than in many other national traditions; this was a primarily bibliographic tradition. For example, in 1866, Adalbert Merget published his *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendlitteratur* (updated in 1876 and again in 1882), which proposed the following periodization starting in the eighteenth century: I. "The philanthropists, the moralists, and the classical poets," II. "The devout Christian writers, the fairy tale and legend storytellers," and III. "The children's novelists, the women writers for youth, the modern poets for children, and the realistic authors [what we would think of as school textbooks today]." Adalbert Merget, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendlitteratur*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Plahn Buchhandlung, 1882).

[44] Hunt, *Introduction to Children's Literature*, 41; Jack Zipes, ed., *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition: From Straparola and Basile to the Brothers Grimm* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), xii-xiii.

[45] Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Jennifer Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008); Anna Kuxhausen, *From the Womb to the Body Politic: Raising the Nation in Enlightenment Russia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).

Educating Children

Family

Centering children and childhood offers an important new perspective on longstanding questions about the history of the family, gender, and generations. Considerations of age and life cycle, informed by new histories of youth, have deepened generational analysis and understandings of generational transmission.[46] Furthermore, historians of education have been calling for some time to uncover the development of learning and literacy beyond the school—specifically, in the family.[47] In my focus on German families of the emerging Bildungsbürgertum, I depend on a rich historiographic tradition in the intersections of family life and relations with class and gender. This section surveys some of those insights from European family and gender history, grounding my argument throughout the dissertation that these practices generated not only modern ideologies about the family, but also modern subjectivities shaped by household and gender dynamics.

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[46] For example, see Mary Jo Maynes, ed. "Young Women in Europe in the Era of 'First-Wave' Feminisms: Analyses of Generation and Gender," special section, *Continuity and Change* 19, no. 3 (2004).

[47] David Vincent writes, "A concentration on family literacy enables us to form a clearer picture of the dynamics of change in the growth of nominal literacy....the process of becoming literate was never simply a matter of the individual child wholly dependent on the school and its pedagogy. Before, around, and after the classroom the child learned to acquire not only a wide range of communication skills but also its own armoury of learning strategies." "Literacy Literacy," in *Understanding Literacy in its Historical Contexts: Socio-Cultural History and the Legacy of Egil Johansson*, ed. Harvey J. Graff, et al. (Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press, 2009), 228-231. In a recent comparative collection on the history of girls' secondary education, the editors emphasized the pressing need for further research into informal, domestic education as an evidently significant but little understood aspect of girls' education. James C. Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers, eds., *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World: From the 18th to the 20th Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Decades of scholarship have demonstrated that the family does indeed have a history, as an object, site, and agent of change.[48] Two insights from that research are especially useful to highlight here. First, using gender and class as categories of analysis has revealed how family practices and relations generate subjectivities. For example, in the indispensable study of the middle-class family in nineteenth-century Britain, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes*, the authors argue that "consciousness of class always takes a gendered form."[49] But they also identify conflict between class and gender allegiances, noting that "tension between class aspiration and feminine identity was one of the powerful forces in the development of mid nineteenth-century feminism."[50] The authors trace a connection between these social categories and individual identities, suggesting that men's self-fashioning underwent perhaps even more transformation in the nineteenth century than did women's.[51] Meanwhile, Scott Haine's study of nineteenth-century working-class cafés in Paris provides another excellent example of how historians have shown class cultures shaping the family and the self.[52] Haine's examination of sociability in café life includes overlapping relationships such as parents, relatives, lovers, and newly-weds. He

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[48] Tilly and Cohen posed this question in a review essay published several years after the establishment of the *Journal of Family History* and other notable developments in the field. Louise A. Tilly and Miriam Cohen, "Does the Family Have a History? A Review of Theory and Practice in Family History," *Social Science History* 6, no. 2 (1982): 131-179. They organize their review around Michael Anderson's still useful taxonomy of family history as the demographic approach, the sentiments approach, and the household economics approach. Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For an updated survey, see Mary Jo Maynes and Ann Waltner, *The Family: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[49] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Working Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13. For a comparison of England and France focused on working-class families, see Louise Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (1978; repr. New York: Meuthen, 1987).

[50] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 13.

[51] The ideal middle-class masculine self had to comport himself in particular ways, but Davidoff and Hall suggest that it "rested on deeper foundations than dress or behaviour," including family business, radicalism, philanthropy, religious affiliation, print culture, and performance of gender difference. Ibid., *Family Fortunes*, 15-18.

[52] W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789-1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

argues that the cafés "helped shape modern republicanism, socialism, bohemianism, anarchism, and syndicalism" in a distinctive subculture catering to the working class.[53] These political identities were attached in different patterns to class and family affiliations, but did not necessarily replace family-based identities.

Second, as an institution, the family is not separate from social and political life. The contention that the family is a site of history is closely linked with research that has dismantled a false public-private dichotomy. Some of the most essential work in this area has emerged from debates around the writing of Jürgen Habermas (especially in the responses of Belinda Davis and Geoff Eley). Even though Habermas has been criticized for reifying a divide between public and private, he is himself preoccupied in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* with the connections from the family to the market and discourse, because he sees the bourgeois public sphere as constituted through the bourgeois family. He writes, for example, of "the ambivalence of the family as an agent of society yet simultaneously as the anticipated emancipation from society."[54] He also argues that "the subjectivity of the privatized individual was related from the very start to publicity... the familiarity (*Intimität*) whose vehicle was the written word, the subjectivity that had become fit to print, had in fact become the literature appealing to a wide public of readers."[55] Davis and other feminist critics of Habermas and subsequent scholarship have identified a fallacy in his lack of attention to how the public sphere is gendered. As Craig Calhoun writes, this critique has revealed that "the public/private dichotomy itself imposes a neutralizing logic on differential

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[53] Ibid., 2.
[54] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (1962; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 55.
[55] Ibid., 50-51.

identity by establishing qualification for publicness as a matter of abstraction from private identity."[56]

Fine-grained analysis of actual household dynamics across contexts demonstrates a much more complicated picture. Haine demonstrates how an assumed division between public and private especially breaks down when considering working-class families. Contemporary observers (and reformers) assumed that working-class life was largely lived "in public" because of a shortage of proper housing, but Haine takes this argument apart as well, showing that the timing of café-going and housing shortages bears no correlation.[57] Haine demonstrates that children's participation in café life, the fact that a significant number of weddings were held in cafés, and recorded conflicts involving family interests are evidence of an increase in private behavior encroaching on supposedly public space rather than the increasing stratification of spheres that was meant to foster respectable middle-class identities.[58] For those families too, however, class identity depended on the family. Davidoff and Hall assert that "every individual's relation to the world is filtered through gendered subjectivity. That sexual identity is organized through a complex system of social relations, structured by the institutions not only of family and kinship but at every level of the legal, political, economic and social formation."[59] Writing of "the densely interwoven fabric of common sense and sentimentality that even today ensures the ubiquity of middle-class power," Nancy Armstrong casts this in terms of political and social capital that derive from desire and domestic life.[60] Finally, David Hamlin shows how, even if the middle-class European family did become more private over the course of the nineteenth century,

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[56] Craig Calhoun, introduction to *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 35.
[57] Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 39.
[58] Ibid., 52.
[59] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 29.
[60] Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5.

economics, politics, and society nevertheless depended on families. He argues that "the modern, autonomous individual was simply not conceivable without the family. Only because the family was assumed to be the source of individuality could it be endowed with such extraordinary importance."[61]

My exploration of the social constitution of children's subjectivity in the Bildungsbürgertum is supported by this research on the connection between the family and the individual. As Jerrold Seigel writes, "To regard people as partial agents of their self-existence is not at all the same as to assert that they need only themselves in order to effect it....modern figures recognized the central place of social and cultural relations in self-formation, often in ways that set reflectivity in a mutually constituting relationship with other elements of self-existence."[62] The self-formation that I trace was an inherently reflexive, social process for children, whose dependency makes those relationships even more transparent in the historical record. Relatedly, David Sabean cautions against assumptions about the psychodynamics of personhood, which promise, "the possibility of studying the emotional experiences and subjective lives of those to whom we give our attention."[63] Instead, Sabean suggests that the historian conceive of selfhood more usefully in terms of a person's constitution within a matrix of social relations. In this dissertation, I am particularly interested in the child's matrix of social relations within a household, as part of extended family and social networks, and through the influences of educational texts.

Educating the natural child

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[61] Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 24.
[62] Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 43.
[63] David Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 31.

Figure 2. "L'éducation fait tout" ("Education Does Everything"), engraving by Nicolas de Launay (1790), based on painting by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1780)
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[64]

In Fragonard's "Education Does Everything," a satire of eighteenth-century philosophy, a girl dresses up two dogs in human clothing and poses them in a parody of Enlightened instruction. Whether scorned or celebrated, education was undeniably at the center of new Enlightenment ideas. Writers in the decades bridging 1800 understood themselves to be living in a "pedagogic century," as Jonathan Sheehan writes, "where instruction, education and the formation of an autonomous mankind were at the collective center of cultural and intellectual production." Sheehan argues that this particularly took hold in continental Europe, through a "virtual tidal wave of pedagogical passion."[65] Historians of education have debated the actual impact of schooling reforms in this era,

[64] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Collection Online (Purchase, Roland L. Redmond Gift, Louis V. Bell and Rogers Funds, 1972), http://www.metmuseum.org (Open Access for Scholarly Content).
[65] Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation: Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 131-32.

while philosophers have grappled with the inherent contradictions of Enlightenment ideals as they were extended or (not) across social categories. As a basis for my eventual arguments, it is useful to outline here some of the key pedagogic ideas of widely-read philosophes that informed the transformation of ordinary children's educational experiences.

Well-educated German parents were likely aware of ideas that originated with some of the following figures who are referenced throughout this dissertation, at least in the dissemination of their philosophy through advice on quotidian childrearing. This list includes many writers whose ideas in fact conflicted with one another; what they held in common was a deep concern for the nature of individual childhood experiences as these shaped the social fabric. John Locke (1632-1704).[66] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78); his work on the child, *Émile* (1762), was recognized by Rousseau in a somewhat cranky passage of his *Confessions* as "the best, as well as the most important of all the works I had produced."[67] Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724-90).[68] Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow (1734-1805); like Basedow, von Rochow was part of the pedagogic reform movement known as philanthropinism. He aimed to cultivate a useful peasant class through the development of model schools. Von Rochow developed a reader for those schools known as *Der Kinderfreund* (*The Children's Friend*, 1776), a title which was taken up and widely emulated or modified in later decades. One prominent example of this development is Friedrich Wilmsen's *Der Brandenburgische Kinderfreund* (*The Brandenburg Children's Friend*, 1800). The novelist Theodor Fontane (1819-98) particularly remembered reading aloud to

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[66] On John Locke, see Adrianne Wadewitz, "'Spare the Sympathy, Spoil the Child': Sociability, Selfhood, and the Maturing Reader, 1775-1815 (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University), especially Chapter 1; Adriana Benzaquen, "Locke's Children," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011): 382-402.

[67] *The* Confessions *and Correspondence, Including the Letters to Malesherbes*, ed. Christopher Kelly, Roger D. Masters, and Peter G. Stillman, trans. Christopher Kelly (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), Book XI.

[68] For a print history perspective on the circulation of Basedow's philanthropinism, see Andrea Immel, "The Shady Business of Enlightenment: John Trusler's *Progress of Man* and Johann Basedow's *Elementarwerk*," *The Princeton Library Chronicle* 68, no. 3 (2007): 969-86.

his mother from Wilmsen's *Brandenburgischen Kinderfreund* as a child, though he objected to the "terrible pictures."[69] Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818).[70] Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Pestalozzi's influence on John Dewey, (1859-1952), Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), and Maria Montessori (1870-1952) has ensured that his ideas about the individual needs of the each child and inherent morality of human nature have continued to shape Western pedagogy through movements such as Montessori and Waldorf schools, as well as progressive education. Caroline Rudolphi (1753-1811).[71] Amalia Holst (1758-1829).[72] Betty Gleim (1781-1827).[73] Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel (1782-1852).[74]

Rousseau's influence in particular was enormous, including in the German case, where his contemplation of reason versus the passions, intense interest in the development of the child, and reimagination of mothering shaped pedagogic thought.[75] Claiming that Rousseau's cultural impact overshadowed his political ideals, the philosopher Paul Hensel

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[69] Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe: A Social History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 38 and 44-47; "...und so stand ich jeden Nachmittag an ihrem kleinen Nähtisch und las ihr aus dem 'Brandenburgischen Kinderfreund', einem guten Buche mit nur leider furchtbaren Bildern, allerlei kleine Geschichten vor," quoted in Holger Rudolff, *Friedrich Philipp Wilmsen's Kinderfreunde* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), xvi.

[70] For an overview of Campe's position within continental Enlightenment pedagogy, see Richard B. Apgar, "Taming Travel and Disciplining Reason: Enlightenment and Pedagogy in the Work of Joachim Heinrich Campe" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 2008). On imitators of Campe well into the nineteenth century, see Merget, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendlitteratur*, 25-26.

[71] Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer, "Caroline Rudolphi – Gemälde weiblicher Erziehung (1807); Amalia Holst – Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zur höheren Geistesbildung (1802); Betty Gleim – Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts (1810)," in *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsbildungsgeschichte von Mädchen und Frauen*, ed. Elke Kleinau and Christine Meyer, 70-84 (Weinheim: Beltz, 1996).

[72] Ibid. See also a discussion of Holst's writing for young readers in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[73] Ibid.

[74] On the global Kindergarten movement inspired by Froebel, see Ann Taylor Allen, "'Let Us Live with Our Children': Kindergarten Movements in Germany and the United States, 1840-1914," *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1988): 23-48; Norman Brosterman, *Inventing Kindergarten* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); Roberta Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). Anja Schoenberg Shepela, "'Meine kühnsten Wünsche und Ideen': Women, Space, Place, and Mobility in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2014).

[75] On Rousseau's influence on German philosophy, see David James, *Rousseau and German Idealism: Freedom, Dependence, and Necessity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

asserted in the early twentieth century that Rousseau's influence in France "seems almost negligible" compared to his presence in German philosophy.[76] Rousseau's ideas were also translated in the German context by Campe, who applied Rousseauian ideals about nature in his widely-read adaptation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* for German child readers, *Robinson der Jüngere* (*Robinson the Younger*, 1779-80).[77]

A cornerstone paradox of eighteenth-century pedagogy is that the parents and teachers who pursued the educational ideals of Rousseau wanted to *instruct* children in the ways of Enlightenment, to educate the "natural" child.[78] They hoped to develop readers who were sociable, yet independent; writers who were cultivated, yet natural—children who were curious, yet obedient.

Enlightenment philosophers placed the child as symbol at the center of political discourses about reason, governance, and the self; at the same time, some directed their attention to child development itself, reimagining childhood as a vital stage of life cordoned off from adulthood.[79] Above all (across a diverse set of approaches), they sought to cultivate self-knowledge and self-control in the child.[80] The combination of these two ideals—the

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[76] "Ihr gegenüber erscheint der Einfluß Rousseauscher Gedanken auf die politische und literarische Entwickelung in Frankreich fast als geringfügig....hier wurde Rousseau nicht das Fundament einer Guillotine, sondern einer neuen Kultur....Daher haben wir ein Recht auf Rousseau." Paul Hensel, *Rousseau* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912), Chapter 6.

[77] See Nikola Merveldt, "Multilingual Robinson: Imagining Modern Communities for Middle-Class Children," *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature* 51, no. 3 (2013): 1-11.

[78] On the particular interpretation of this paradox in the bourgeois German milieu, see Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben*, 78. For a fuller development of these contradictions in the case of one Dutch boy's education, see Baggerman and Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment*.

[79] Arianne Baggerman addresses this in the context of personal narratives: "The increasing fascination for childhood in nineteenth-century autobiographies can also be explained by the continued effect of enlightened pedagogy, in which the childhood years were seen as a separate stage of life, of vital importance to the formation of character." Arianne Baggerman, "Lost Time: Temporal Discipline and Historical Awareness in Nineteenth-Century Dutch Egodocuments," in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch (Leiden: Boston, 2011), 529.

[80] For a rich engagement with Norbert Elias's classic and relevant work on *The Civilizing Process*, especially around the gendered, classed, and raced dimensions of "self-mastery," see Pavla Miller, *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500-1900 (*Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

conception of childhood as separate from adulthood, alongside the priority of teaching self-discipline—meant that many pedagogues were fundamentally concerned with crafting new mechanisms to capture children's attention.[81]

As I will show throughout the dissertation, adults were therefore increasingly interested in how to provide an entertaining education. Because reading took effort, Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland (1762-1836) argued, "we thus must place such books in their hands that connect pleasure with instruction."[82] Making learning fun would help children devote themselves to their work. In other cases, encouraging "natural" inclinations was advanced as the best means of engaging children's attention. For example, Ludwig Georg Friedrich von Seybold, Marie's cousin who was separated from his parents during Jacobin upheaval, urged his own daughter to resist the cultivated education of her teacher or mother, so that she would not become an "ailing hot-house flower, but rather a free, sturdy child of nature."[83] Of course, she was meant to achieve this authentic, unencumbered state by turning to her father for guidance, in her education as a natural child.

Whether seeing children as guided by internal, natural impulses or seeking amusement through instruction, however, pedagogues attempted to impose various limits on children's curiosity. Many Enlightenment pedagogues were concerned with the dangers of

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[81] See Noah W. Sobe, "Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, nos. 1-2 (2010): 149-60.

[82] "...es kostet Kindern viel Zeit und Mühe, beide Sprechen zu erlernen. Man muß ihnen daher solche Bücher in die Hände geben, welche Vergnügen mit Belehrung verbinden, und so Mühe der fortgesetzten Anstrengung belohnen, und die Arbeit versüßen." Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, quoted in Hubert Göbels, ed., *Hundert Alte Kinderbücher aus dem 19. Jahrhundert: Eine illustrierte Bibliographie* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1979), 2:445.

[83] "Die Besorgniss für seinen Liebling verliess ihn nie und auch aus der Ferne leitete er die Erziehung desselben nach vernünftigen Grundsätzen. 'Wenn deine Lehrer oder deine Mutter dir zu starke Pensa aufgeben, so klage du es deinem Vater, der wird dich von dem, was zu viel ist, dispensiren, du sollst mir nicht eine kränkelnde Treibhauspflanze werden, sondern ein freies, kräftiges Naturkind.'" von Georgii-Georgenau, *Biographisch-genealogische Blätter aus und über Schwaben*, 924-25. This admiring statement by a family chronicler in the 1870s mirrors similar sentiments expressed in Louisa May Alcott's novels of the same decade, a fictional treatment of her father Bronson Alcott's Romantic-era pedagogy. See especially *Little Men* (1871), *Eight Cousins* (1875) and *Rose in Bloom* (1876).

unrestrained imagination, especially in girls. Philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac warned against young women and girls reading novels because he feared their "tender brains" would not be able to distinguish the real from the fictive and would spend too much time in asocial isolation; Nicolas Malebranche believed that mothers' overactive imaginations were responsible for the births of monstrous children; and J. H. S. Formey worried that children allowed to play at make-believe would never learn the self-discipline to concentrate and focus their "wandering" imaginations.[84] Rousseau proposed retraining the imagination towards compassion and empathy—even he saw danger in a certain form of freedom, despite encouraging Émile's "wildness."[85]

We might ask: to what extent was Enlightenment pedagogy oppressive?[86] In his study of three children's book authors, William McCarthy writes about how Romantic conceptions of the child have obscured the changes in attitudes toward children's education already developing in the eighteenth century: "Conventional accounts of Enlightenment pedagogy...seem wedded to the story that Enlightenment education was a regime dedicated in one way or another to the oppression of the child." McCarthy points out that this story reifies Enlightenment teaching as a "single-minded enterprise," despite clear differences between such pedagogues as Gleim, Campe, and von Rochow, let alone the proliferation of actual practices through the involvement of individual teachers and parents. More importantly, this narrative of single-minded oppression presumes falsely "that the *effects* of Enlightenment teaching on pupils are in fact known."[87] It also flattens the often contentious

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[84] Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 35 and 38.
[85] Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 77-79.
[86] Sociologist Katharina Rudetsky famously coined the term "schwarze Pädagogik" ("black" or "poisonous" pedagogy) to define the corporal punishment and repressive impulses of eighteenth-century child socialization. Rudetsky, ed. *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1977).
[87] William McCarthy, "Performance, Pedagogy, and Politics: Mrs. Thrale, Mrs. Barbauld, Monsieur Itard," in *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800*, ed. Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore (New York: Routledge, 2006), 261-62.

points of philosophical difference between thinkers such as Rousseau and Kant on questions such as the innate capacity of the child. While social class is certainly part of the answer to how Enlightenment pedagogy was differentiated, one challenge of determining these liberatory or repressive effects has to do with sources. Despite a rich tradition in the history of education, and despite a consensus that learning and child development happen beyond school walls, we have only recently begun to investigate these questions across informal (home) and formal (schooling) instruction.

Schooling

Although a focus on the disciplinary mode of schooling has dominated the historiography of formal education, schools were also influenced by tensions and developments within Enlightenment pedagogy. There were certainly stark differences between how Enlightenment pedagogues sought to educate their own (elite) children and the aims of schools for peasant and working-class children.[88] Schooling was not a straightforward engine of progressive change, but in fact one of the key institutions that reified social class distinctions and shored up elite power.[89] This is the most critical reason why, as Mary Jo Maynes writes, "the meaning of the school is key to understanding the social implications of changes [in the transition to industrial capitalism which shaped its reform."[90] I seek to contribute to this understanding by examining how education in a variety of settings within and beyond school walls also shaped European society. In addition to

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[88] According to Pamela Selwyn, the bookseller Friedrich Nicolai, who published von Rochow's books, "saw works directed at educating both pastors and schoolteachers, particularly those in the countryside, as an essential instrument in the struggle against superstition and ignorance." He reported it was "'very sad to see the children of middling and common men, who are not destined for [university] studies, and yet who represent the genuine components of the nation, almost everywhere so miserably taught.'" Pamela Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment, 1750-1810* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 52-53.

[89] On the role of the state in promoting schooling during the nineteenth century and the importance of local communities in determining regional dynamics, see Maynes, *Schooling for the People*.

[90] Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe*, 5.

Enlightenment philosophy, then, it is also necessary to say a few words about the schooling situation during the age of revolutions.

Before the modern era, R. A. Houston writes, "Teaching methods and materials changed remarkably little [from 1500 to 1800] and at both elementary and more advanced levels the pedagogic regime was often rigid and stultifying, designed to pass on an agreed body of knowledge and more or less fixed interpretations."[91] When discussing schooling reforms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is important to remember the difference between law and fact.[92] Although Prussia's *Generallandschulreglement* ("General Country School Regulation") of 1763 nominally dictated the education of all children between ages 5 and 14, the conflict between state and church in controlling education and other obstacles to full compulsory education would continue for decades.[93] Similarly, in France, the *loi Guizot* of 1833 made it compulsory for each commune to have a primary school for boys aged seven and older, but, as Eugen Weber argued persuasively in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, the process was not smooth.[94] Nevertheless, there were some remarkable transitions throughout this period. For example, primary school enrollment was as high as nearly 100% of school-aged children in certain regions such as Baden.[95]

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[91] R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture & Education 1500-1800* (London: Longman, 1988), 6.
[92] Stephen Harp, *Learning to Be Loyal: Primary Schooling as Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998). On schooling in France, see Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing*; Laura Strumingher, *What Were Little Girls and Boys Made of?: Primary Education in Rural France, 1830-1880* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); Linda Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the Socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984). In Germany, see Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany*; Katharine Kennedy, "Regionalism and Nationalism in South German History Lessons, 1871-1914," *German Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (1989): 11-33; Meike Baader et al., eds., *Bildungsgeschichten: Geschlecht, Religion und Pädagogik in der Moderne: Festschrift für Juliane Jacobi zum 60. Geburtstag* (Köln: Böhlau, 2006).
[93] Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe*, 49. See also Harry Morgan, *The Imagination of Early Childhood Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999), 22-23.
[94] Strumingher, *What Were Little Girls and Boys Made Of?*; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976). Colin Heywood sums up the nineteenth-century situation by writing that "the school system had more success in capturing bodies than the souls of the working-class children." Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 294.
[95] Maynes, *Schooling for the People*, table on 104.

Even though the state projects of schooling aimed at governing the popular classes, most of the boy readers from the more elite classes I study also experienced some amount of formal education; an increasing number of middle-class girls did as well. *Töchterschulen*, which literally means "daughters" schools, is one term used for girls' secondary schools. As James Albisetti has noted, it is telling that only *Mädchenschulen*, girls' schools, share this association with the family. By contrast, *Knabenschulen*, boys' schools, were never referred to as "sons' schools."[96] It is difficult to characterize authoritatively the educational possibilities that existed for girls before German unification in 1871 and the schooling reforms of the imperial period. Even among the elite classes who were actually afforded some form of official instruction, school contexts varied widely: confessional differences between states led to some religiously administered and some secular institutions, often both in the same town. Juliane Jacobi has pointed out that terms for different classes and ages were not consistent across regions in the late Enlightenment.[97] But despite this variety, the percentage of girls receiving a formal education was indisputably on the rise during this period. For example: in Prussia, between 250 and 350 public girls' schools from 1827 to 1864 ensured a secondary school for girls in every large town.[98] As historians have recently begun to investigate, however, much of girls' education across classes happened at home during this period. For both girls and boys, schools were obviously a site of disciplinary socialization, but we still do not know what the precise effects of that education was. Furthermore, to capture the influence of education on children's development, we need to deepen our understanding of how they were educated outside school walls.

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[96] James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 16.
[97] Juliane Jacobi, "Girls' Secondary Education in 19th and 20th Century Germany, Austria and Switzerland" (paper presented at ECER, Goteborg, September 10, 2008).
[98] Jacobi, "Girls' Secondary Education," 10. Female illiteracy is estimated to have reached less than 10% by the mid-nineteenth century, if not earlier. David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), figure on 9.

Agency/Discipline

What does "reading agency" mean? Children's experiences have been neglected by historians partly because of the persistent challenges of discerning their presence in the historical record. But young people have also been relegated to objects of history because scholars have mistakenly understood children's agency as simple and unimportant, when in fact the ways in which children form opinions, exercise power, and make history are complex and profoundly embedded in social context.[99]

Because agency, voice, and subjectivity have been of special concern to recent studies in the history of childhood, this field highlights twin tendencies that tempt historians across specialties. First, there is a desire to discover or even celebrate agency in the historical record, including resistance to or negotiation of disciplinary power. Thus we see the inclination of many historians of childhood and youth to seek out examples of children struggling against the dictates of their education with defiance, parody, or silent refusal. Second, there is a desire to reveal and critique the propagandistic mechanisms of authorities, institutions, and power. Thus we see attention to the governance of children through schooling and other disciplinary practices. Even though these two impulses stem from shared historical and political perspectives, they are often in tension. That is, either we understand children as agents with the capacity to reinterpret and dismiss their socialization, or we accept that teachers, parents, authors, and other adults successfully impose a tyrannical pedagogy on young people.

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[99] See Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 114-24; Steven Mintz, "Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 91-94. John Gillis addressed the question of young people's agency as "the proposition that youth makes its own history, a history linked with and yet analytically separable from that of the family, the school, and other adult institutions." Gillis, *Youth and History*, ix.

My approach to reading agency does not look for middle ground between these poles, but instead investigates how agency and discipline worked inseparably to shape the experiences of children and, in turn, their imprint on modern European history. Education does have transformative potential for some individuals, but *in the same context* has served as a crucial instrument of governance and conformity. In another case, Karen Sánchez-Eppler has traced three interrelated positions of children:

- They are objects of socialization: taught to conform to social expectations by child-rearing experts, by parents, by schools, and by didactic stories.
- They are forces of socialization: ideas about childhood and the innocent figure of the child evoked in a wide range of cultural and political discourses in attempts to reform, direct, or influence the nation.
- They are children: individuals inhabiting and negotiating these often conflicting roles as best they can.[100]

By considering these poles and the complex ground between them, I am also following Kathryn Kent's exhortation that we not "overlook the pleasures of disciplinary identification, as well as the sites of resistance or subjective reformulation that such pleasure might produce."[101] Middle-class children also may have thrived on the discipline of literacy education. As a group, children exert agency as they make choices, exercise power, and resist authority. Individual children also influence the perspectives and actions of individual adults (teachers, pedagogues, policy-makers, parents), shaping their ideas about childhood and how children learn. At the same time that education worked as a governing process intended to cultivate a particular kind of middle-class citizen, children were still able to form their responses to this instruction: they might reinforce and participate in the changing ideology of childhood; they might also reinterpret the education produced for them through their own lived experience; and they might subvert adults' pedagogical intentions, through

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[100] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xiv-xv.
[101] Kathryn Kent, *Making Girls into Women: American Women's Writing and the Rise of Lesbian Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 45-46.

misreading, refusing to study, or altering the physical texts of their education. This undermines the story of an orderly trajectory in the history of children's education from absolute didacticism to emancipatory learning by revealing earlier practices that allowed for children's creativity or imagination, as well as reminding us that newer educational strategies purporting to be liberatory are also forms of discipline.

But it also undermines that teleology by mapping the persistence of pedagogic practices that disciplined children alongside those expressions: I am not granting children incontrovertible power or claiming reading as an inherently positive, emancipatory experience. Neither am I forgetting that class, gender, race, and religion constructed hierarchical regimes of power under which children lived.[102] My attention to agency acknowledges that children responded to social discipline in ways that cannot be entirely predicted or accounted for by adults' perspectives. To read children's agency partly entails examining how children themselves participated in the construction of these ideologies. That is, the actions, relationships, and choices of individual children were part of the historical dynamics which also governed their lives.

Here it is important to make the distinction between voice and agency offered by recent work in social history, selfhood, feminist studies, and the history of subaltern groups. Older notions of historical agency grew out of the same liberal privileging of the rational, educated, male individual which is part of the story discussed in this dissertation. That is, meaningful agency was understood to be expressed through public action and recorded personal expressions of powerful individuals.[103] The essays in *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History* offer an example of how taking into account young people

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[102] The *bürgerliche* children at the heart of this study enjoyed tremendous class privilege, even as they were constrained by age.

[103] Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category," 116.

revises many aspects of modern European economic and political history, despite girls' "marginality with respect to centers of power and the processes of record keeping."[104] Children's voicelessness in written records should not be mistaken for historical irrelevance or passivity.

Nevertheless, taking children's agency seriously does require attention to historical methods. Is it feasible to use documents almost entirely created or at least monitored and archived by adults to access children's perspectives, or are we Peter Pan, trying to stick on his shadow with soap? This dissertation proposes that children's education is a particularly bright avenue for exploring agency and discipline, since it involves both children's own practices (here, in the form of their reading and writing) and the construction of childhood by adults. David Vincent observes that individuals exercising literacy are "neither controlled by nor independent of the purposes designated by authors and educators."[105] Texts written for youth present an intriguing intersection of adult desires to shape childhood and the agency of the child readers themselves. Education is of course always an interactive process between teachers and learners. What was different in the decades around 1800 was the scale and pace of change as childhood was redesigned. As Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore have written, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century children's books began to offer "surprisingly complex and imaginative strategies to young people navigating the 'flat world' of the page."[106] Such strategies can only be reconstructed from uneven archival evidence and contextual clues in the books themselves, but as Immel and Witmore suggest, tracking them

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[104] Maynes, Søland, and Benninghaus, "Introduction," in *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills*, 14.
[105] David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 145.
[106] Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore, "Little Differences: Children, Their Books, and Culture in the Study of Early Modern Europe," in *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800*, 10.

can reveal how "these texts expressed new ideas about curiosity, the importance of give-and-take between teacher and pupil, and immersive education."[107]

By including children's writing and thinking imaginatively about children's reading, this dissertation is concerned with more than adult pedagogues' idealization of what and how children should feel. But of course children's writing does not reveal a precise mirror of their inner emotions—letters and diaries are just as constructed as any other text, and what these documents actually allow me to track are changes in how children responded to adult expectations over time. My inquiry is not into whether these texts reveal adult or child motives per se; instead, I am describing a system of social relations, in which the child and adult participants co-construct each other. These sources show a pattern of changing reading and writing practices in which we can make reasonable inferences about learning, agency, and discipline.

One useful illustration of the partnership and tension between agency and discipline in the history of children's socialization is the preoccupation with keeping children's books orderly, a common theme in the Enlightenment. As Gunilla Budde, Pavla Miller, Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, and others have established, one of the central goals of didactic propaganda in this era was to cultivate self-disciplined children.[108] An increasingly important way to demonstrate self-discipline was through the management of material objects and knowledge. For example, in an 1813 birthday note for his father, ten-year-old Heinrich Wilhelm Heinrich Weise made an earnest promise: "I will be more diligent this year and I will keep my books in order; if you look at my drawer, dear father, you will find all my

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[107] Ibid., 10-11.
[108] Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben* (1994); Miller, *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500-1900*; Baggerman and Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment* (2009).

books in the greatest order, but no crumbs."[109] By this vow, Weise appeared to have thoroughly absorbed the message from Enlightenment pedagogy that obedience and orderliness, in addition to writing beautiful letters as a demonstration of his literacy, were the best way to show his love for his father. But the suggestion of his past behavior not having lived up to this vow reinforces what we already know: that prescriptive messages for how well-disciplined children should act did not necessarily translate to compliant practice. Similarly, while her philosopher husband was traveling in Italy in 1789, Maria Karoline Herder was driven to make a new rule for her children, enforcing fines for bad behavior. The list of sins was essentially concerned with tidiness and order, and specifically named the infraction of not keeping one's books in order (punishment: 1 Saxon Thaler).[110] As in Heinrich's case, this prescriptive evidence tells us that the Herder children failed to keep their books in order often enough that their mother chose to motivate their supposedly self-governance with money. It also underscores the fact idea that each child deserved his or her own treasured books, enough of them to get out of order.

My consideration of children's agency does not come without skepticism towards the liberal conception of individuality, which coalesced during the Enlightenment and undergirded much of the pedagogic philosophy of this era.[111] Understanding subjectivities

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[109] "Ich werde dieses Jahr Fleißiger sein und werden meine Bücher in Ordnung habe, wenn du in meine Schublade siest so wirst du liebster Teuerster Vater keinen Kleks[sic] finden, alle Bücher in der grösten Ordenung." Heinrich Wilhelm Weise to Friedrich Wilhelm Weise, 8 March 1813, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200-12 Nr. 14, LAB.

[110] "Die Mutter hat jetzt ein Gesetz gemacht, daß, wer sich beym Tische auflegt, oder sich nicht gut aufführt, muß 1 S geben, wer seine Bücher nicht ordentlich stellt, oder das andere anfährt u. a. m. muß 1 S geben, und da bekömt jeder jeden Sontag 1 g. und die Mutter hofft von ihnen auch recht viel Pfenige zu bekommen. Vorigen Sontag als d. 1t März habe ich meinen Geldbeutel mit 6 g. verlohren aber nicht der Gute." August Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 1788, in F. E. Mencken, *Dein dich zärtlich liebender Sohn: Kinderbriefe aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (Memmingen, Germany: Heimeran, 1965), 69.

[111] Some histories of the self which have shaped my approach include: Sabean, *Power in the Blood*; Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*; Seigel, *The Idea of the Self*; Mark G. E. Kelly, "Foucault, Subjectivity, and Technologies of the Self," in *A Companion to Foucault*, ed. Christopher Falzon, Timothy O'Leary, and Jana Sawicki (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

as historically constituted is still compatible with an investigation of the choices and self-articulations that young people made within social constraints. German children participated in the discursive construction of modern selfhood, not only as future adults influenced by youth identities but also through their own development and negotiation of relational autonomy in childhood.

Historical conceptions of autonomy more generally (that is: for adults) are enriched by this approach to considering children as partial agents, partial subjects. Recognizing the constraints on children's agency helps us acknowledge ideas taken for granted about adults as historical actors. As Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore ask, "To what degree has the 'obvious' marginality of children impeded our ability to see adults exercising a similarly middling kind of power?"[112] However, this relationship between adult and child expressions of choice and power further indicates the value of investigating agency. The attempts to govern, discipline, and control children that were fundamental to historical dynamics of industrialization, class stratification, and colonialism were pursued within the context of children exerting their own agency. Writing of the conflict between post-structural theory's conception of human subjectivity and Marx's notion of human beings making their own history, Tessie Liu states it clearly: "Although notions of 'interest' and 'self' are ultimately fictions enacted in the midst of contingencies, such inventions are central to people's will to act, even if their bravery rests on uncertain foundations."[113] To a certain extent, this dissertation suggests that we consider children's lives on their own terms—agency within contingencies.

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[112] Immel and Witmore, "Little Differences," 14.
[113] Tessie P. Liu, *The Weaver's Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western Europe, 1750-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), x.

Reading and Writing

Theories of reading

My historical study of child readers has been guided by approaches to interpreting relationships between reader, text, and world drawn from theories of reading and literacy studies. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 particularly depend on ideas about readerly agency and the transactions between readers and texts that are informed by this work. Reading is always an interpretive process with multiple agents who make choices about both the writing and reading of texts. My contribution to the study of reading writ large is grounded in taking young readers seriously as interpreters of texts. As Janice Radway has argued, "reading is not eating."[114] I do not assume that children consumed their reading passively or that children's literacy was a simple matter of learning to decode.[115]

Work on the theory of reading has proliferated across sub-fields such as the sociology of text, the anthropology of readers, the history of the book, philosophical approaches and so on. As Matthew Grenby writes, "new studies appear with such frequency that literature reviews soon become out of date."[116] The field builds both on literary criticism (for example, Wolfgang Iser, Susan Suleiman, Inge Crossman Wimmers, and Harold Bloom) as well as hermeneutics (for example, Roland Barthes and Hans-Georg

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[114] Janice A. Radway, "Reading is Not Eating: Mass-Produced Literature and the Theoretical, Methodological, and Political Consequences of a Metaphor," *Book Research Quarterly* 2 (Fall 1986): 7-29.

[115] The same cannot be said for all kids, as the poet William Stafford wrote in "The Trouble with Reading": "When a goat likes a book, the whole book is gone,/ and the meaning has to go find an author again./ But when we read, it's just print—deciphering,/ like frost on a window: we learn the meaning/ but lose what the frost is, and all that world/ pressed so desperately behind." (1970)

[116] Matthew Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 6. Indeed, for the most current scholarly conversations on theories of reading and the history of the book, readers would do well to investigate the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), which fields an active listserv on these topics. See http://sharpweb.org.

Gadamer).[117] While I borrow some concepts of intertextuality and misreading from literary scholars, however, there is a key difference in more recent applications of these ideas: the imagined reader. Early literary criticism considered the effects of texts on an imagined white, male, elite, European, highly educated reader. My attention to emerging readers emphasizes categories of age, gender, and class in producing different, sometimes unexpected relationships between reader and text. In this way, I situate myself closer to a critical sociological approach, in which reading is understood as "a social construction: an historic and culture-specific competence which has been regulated institutionally in accordance with particular economic and political interests."[118]

Perhaps no single theorist of reading has had greater cross-disciplinary impact than Louise Rosenblatt, through her concept of "transactional" reading.[119] Her influence is particularly evident in the development of reader-response theory, which sought "to reopen to scrutiny that which has been declared inscrutable, illegitimate or trivial."[120] In her application of reader-response criticism to pulp fiction of the postwar United States, Regina Kunzel observes that some historians resist the use of literary analysis because they see it removing agency by "reducing reality to textuality."[121] But Kunzel's exploration of the complex interactions between girls' and women's material lives and the texts they read

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[117] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays in Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[118] Allan Luke, "The Political Economy of Reading Instruction," in *Towards a Critical Sociology of Reading Pedagogy*, ed. Carolyn Baker and Allan Luke (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 6.

[119] See especially Louise Rosenblatt, *The Reader, the Text, the Poem: A Transactional Theory of the Literary Work* (Carobondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1978). For an overview of Rosenblatt's intellectual genealogy and legacy, see Jeanne M. Connell, "Continue to Explore: In Memory of Louise Rosenblatt (1904-2005)," *Education and Culture* 21, no. 2 (2005): 63-79. For Rosenblatt's own corrective to the slippage around later applications of her theory, see Louise Rosenblatt, "Viewpoints: Transaction versus Interaction: A Terminological Rescue Operation," *Research in the Teaching of English* 19, no. 1 (1985): 96-107.

[120] Elizabeth Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism* (London: New Accents, 1987), 5.

[121] Regina Kunzel, "Pulp Fictions and Problem Girls: Reading and Rewriting Single Pregnancy in the Postwar United States," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 5 (1995): 1472.

demonstrates, rather, the possibility of seeing agency in the analysis of reading. In recent decades, the basic principles of reader-response criticism have been modified and extended by scholars interested in reception from literary theory, education research, and history; concerns about interpreting audience reception from texts alone have also been raised. But, as Ian Jackson points out, restricting studies of reading to robust empirical evidence brings its own problems, especially in archival representation.[122] I seek to apply reader-response principles and investigate the question of interpretation in non-literary texts (such as textbooks and non-canonical fiction), as well as extending the concern for diverse reading experiences to young readers.[123]

Citing David Hall, Jackson writes "that while readers have always been influenced by the interpretative strategies offered to them by texts and by the discourses surrounding reading, they have always had a choice of competing strategies."[124] This is true not only for adults. In his study of Romantic-era publishing in Britain, William St. Clair encourages us to recognize that even though no reader is autonomous, children especially are free "to skip, to argue, to resist, to read against the grain...to misunderstand, to be distracted, to slip into dreams, to disagree but to continue reading, to stop reading at any time, and to conclude that the reading had been a waste of time....to pass on opinions and impressions...to anyone willing to listen."[125] Belinda Jack casts this explicitly in the conflict between governance and agency when she writes, "Children's reading, particularly girls', has been informally

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[122] Ian Jackson, "Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 1041-54.

[123] While studies of children in education research have certainly been influenced by Rosenblatt and to a lesser extent by reader-response criticism, much of the work on emerging readers in that field is concerned with facilitating literacy acquisition rather than the social use of literacy. Early reader-response studies did sometimes examine adolescent readers, but usually in an ahistorical context.

[124] Ian Jackson, "Approaches," 1050.

[125] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

censored…throughout history and across the globe, although all women readers also know —often to their delight—how counterproductive this can be."[126]

While this cursory summary flattens distinctions and debates within theories of reading, what these approaches share is also the critical starting point of my analysis: that is, the understanding of reading as a complex transactional activity demanding scholarly attention to reception, participants, *and* texts. That "all reading is misreading" is for me a generative notion, one that opens up different possible understandings of the role played by reading in individual children's lives and in the development of childhood.[127]

Literacy studies

Alongside theories of reading that come primarily from literary criticism or philosophy, my approach is also informed by literacy studies. This field has experienced a renaissance in the past decade, but builds on early work in the social history of education. Across this literature, literacy has been defined in a variety of ways.[128] In later chapters, I occasionally refer to "visual literacy" (e.g. the use of maps in geography lessons), but usually limit my focus to the written word.[129] The young readers and writers I study went beyond the "nominal" level of literacy that was measured in this field's early, more quantitative investigations of basic ability. In the intersection of my research with literacy studies, I am

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[126] Belinda Jack, *The Woman Reader* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 3.
[127] Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 3; Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 39-40; 236-37. The idea of reading as an interpretive process between author, reader, and even other texts has a much longer history, of course.
[128] David Vincent, "Literacy Literacy," in *Understanding Literacy in its Historical Contexts: Socio-Cultural History and the Legacy of Egil Johansson*, ed. Harvey J. Graff et al., 219-35 (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009). For other attempts to define literacy in usefully comparative terms, see Harvey Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy*; David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance, *The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Carl Kaestle, ed., *Literacy in the United States: Readers and Reading since 1880* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor, introduction to *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[129] While his own survey was based on signatures, R. A. Houston defines literac*ies* as "a variety of ways in which the products of a culture can be acquired and transmitted," including looking, reading, writing, counting, navigating, and other skills. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 3-4.

concerned primarily not with assessing literacy attainment (as interests many education researchers), but rather with *literacy practices*: that is, the ongoing reading, writing, and learning experiences in which children participated.[130]

Carl Kaestle frames a straightforward definition of literacy as "the ability to decode and comprehend written language at a rudimentary level, " but complicates this almost immediately with a reminder "that literate people have a wide range of abilities and that illiterate people are not wholly isolated from the influence of print."[131] Literacy is not only a technology for communication or a measurable skill, but "often carries tremendous symbolic weight," according to Robert Arnove, Harvey Graff, and others.[132] As this dissertation demonstrates, the acquisition and use of literacy by children entailed a host of social and political implications. In *The Literacy Myth*, Graff's essential revision of commonly held (and Enlightenment-driven) assumptions about the power of literacy as an engine of progress, he dismantled the claims elites have made for centuries about why they worked to spread mass literacy.[133] Building from that insight, which has shaped historical research on literacy of the past three decades, I am investigating how the modernizing vision of education worked when those elites turned their attention to their own children.[134]

I furthermore follow Graff and other scholars of the "new literacy studies" in acknowledging that literacy can really only be defined within a social and historical context—

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[130] In any historical investigation of literacy, it is essential to remember the persistence of orality and other continuities amidst change. Oral communications particularly emerge in this dissertation as children acted out dramas they first read in youth periodicals, told and retold fairy tales, and participated in schoolroom catechism and conversation. On orality, see Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Meuthen, 1982); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Harvey Graff writes, "Western literacy was *formed*, *shaped*, and *conditioned* by the oral world that it penetrated." *Legacies of Literacy*, 5.

[131] Kaestle, *Literacy in the United States*, 3-4.

[132] Robert F. Arnove and Harvey J. Graff, introduction to *Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (New York: Plenum Press, 1987), 7.

[133] Graff, *The Literacy Myth*.

[134] For more on my position within debates about literacy's liberatory or governing mechanisms, see the section on Agency/Discipline below.

a context which then mediates actual effects beyond the intentions of elites involved in a literacy campaign or parents and teachers involved in a child's education.[135] While stressing the irregular pace and direction of social change in early modern Europe, R. A. Houston sketches a set of features that made education look very different before the eighteenth century:

> Education was, to modern eyes, relatively disorganised and the scale of schools very small. Furthermore, the purposes of education and the uses to which it could be put seem restrictive and limited to modern observers....The family and the local community were far more significant to everyday life, communications were rudimentary, technology primitive, life expectancy at birth short (thirty-five years on average), the role of magic and religion in everyday life pervasive...[136]

This picture began to transform in the eighteenth century, both in the quality of what reading meant (as vernacular, secular texts rose in prominence) and in sheer numbers of reading and writing ability (which was predicted more clearly by social class than by gender or religion in Central Europe). As Helmut Walser Smith summarizes,

> Recent research places literacy rates—based on the low threshold revealed by the ability of marriage partners to sign their names—well above 50% in 1780. This literacy was higher in cities and market towns than in the countryside; higher for men than for women, with the gap closing fast by the end of the century; and marginally higher in Protestant than in Catholic territories.[137]

Even allowing for regional and social variations, it is clear that the late eighteenth century witnessed the beginnings of the dramatic rise in mass literacy that characterized the modern era in Europe.

Histories of readers in the age of revolutions

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[135] Among many citations, see Graff et al., eds., *Understanding Literacy in its Historical Contexts*.
[136] Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 5.
[137] Helmut Walser Smith, introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.

Figure 3. TO TENDER MOTHERS
"My dear Mama, hug your child, he will be good." "It isn't everything to be good, you must still learn to read." *Abécédaire nouveau* (1802)[138]
Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This dissertation is grounded in an appreciation of reading as at least partially retrievable historical experience, based on examples from diverse histories of readers. As Belinda Jack writes, the story of reading "could hardly be more intriguing and varied across time and space. Nor is it a simple chronicle of a steady progression gradually involving more and more readers and increasing amounts of reading matter..."[139] However, there are some common patterns in the development of reading practices across eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe. This section presents some examples and key questions from that research as a framework for my history of child readers.[140]

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[138] *Abécédaire nouveau, ou Méthode amusante pour apprendre à lire aux enfans* (Paris: Delion, 1802).
[139] Jack, *The Woman Reader*, 1.
[140] For a summary of key developments in the history of reading as a field of inquiry, see Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Studies in the history of reading in Europe have often included questions about young readers and individual reading development, even if such references are incidental. Alberto Manguel's *A History of Reading* is an oft-cited and elegant survey of reading practices in the western world.[141] It also happens to be woven through with references to Manguel's own childhood reading experiences, represented as both mysterious and foundational. Similarly, Paul Saenger's compelling argument about the development of silent reading is especially relevant to children's education, although young readers are not his sole focus.[142] Saenger shows that the transition from reading aloud to silent reading not only depended on the invention of word separation, but also transformed ideas about authorship, and privacy. He writes, "the notion that the greater portion of the population should be autonomous and self-motivated readers was entirely foreign to the elitist literate mentality of the ancient world."[143] The new, intimate way in which texts came to be written and read, Saenger notes, also affected the classroom, including through facilitating rapid reference reading.

One approach to studying reading in the past comes from the social and material history of the book. Historians of the book such as Elizabeth Eisenstein, Rolf Engelsing, Robert Darnton, Anthony Grafton, Roger Chartier, and Jonathan Rose have developed new

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[141] Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (London: HarperCollins, 1996).
[142] For example, Saenger does some comparative cognitive work to show that "graphic systems that eliminate or reduce the need for a cognitive process prior to lexical access facilitate the early adaption of young readers to silent reading, while written languages that are more ambiguous necessitate the oral manipulation of phonetic components to construct words." Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 2.
[143] Saenger, *Spaces Between Words*, 11.

understandings and methods that particularly inform my approach.[144] Engelsing argued for a "reading revolution" after the mid-eighteenth century from individuals intensively reading only a few religious books to extensively reading a wide range of secular books; although critiqued and modified, this thesis has remained influential.[145] Building from the material history of the book trade, the reader's own preferences and responses reemerged as central focus in this field in the 1990s. Jackson summarizes the "communications circuit" developed by Darnton and others that brought reader and book history together: "books are sold to readers, whose demand creates a market for more books, and printers and booksellers respond to this demand; albeit each subject to the influence of external factors such as the availability of capital, political control, and the influence of intellectual developments."[146]

Jan Fergus has used bookseller's records to expose the "buying reader," including the choices made by schoolboys in Rugby during the second half of the eighteenth century.[147] Book historians have also constructed compelling arguments through the use of bibliography, but these approaches are necessarily incomplete in some way.[148] Another important complication to keep in mind of using book trade evidence like book fair records,

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[144] For a useful summary of developments in the history of the book, see Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). See also Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Modern History* (1968): 1-56; Albert Ward, *Book Production, Fiction and the German Reading Public 1740-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); David Olson, *The World on Paper: The Conceptual and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey (eds), *The History of Reading* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); Martyn Lyons, *History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Lynne Tatlock, *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010).

[145] Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500-1800* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1974).

[146] Jackson, "Approaches," 1043.

[147] Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[148] Pamela Selwyn writes, "most studies of the period's publishers must begin with laborious compilations of their publishing lists from book fair and other catalog and inaccurate and incomplete bibliographical reference works. This circumstance, along with the relative scarcity of business archives, severe wartime losses particularly to the library and archives of the German book trade organization, the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, and until rather recently, the difficulty of access to and information about holdings in the former German Democratic Republic has made it difficult to study individual German publishing houses in details." Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade*, xii.

catalogues, or publishers' archives is that young readers often read books without purchasing them. For example, 16-year-old Anna Krahmer (one of the diarists I discuss in Chapter 6) wrote on March 1, 1831 that after playing with paper dolls, she and her friend Franziska together finished reading James Fenimore Cooper's *The Red Rover*. It is not clear whether the book belonged to Anna or Franziska. Krahmer wrote, "It is really a wonderful book. I confess it drew 2 tears from me."[149] She was not ashamed of crying over the novel—at least not as much as she was embarrassed by crying over the young man whose affection she sought.

The history of reading has lately been caught up in the question of which readers are important or even possible to study. Matthew Grenby has written the first comprehensive historical study of child readers, in the British context.[150] He uses marginalia and publication records in addition to textual sources to argue that British children's literature was driven by its purchasers (adults and children) and users (children). More work has been done to incorporate lower-class readers and women across social classes. Feminist reading theorists Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins have suggested that women's reading may be portrayed "as an interpretive act and, more than that, as a social, even political, act," when the choice to read is wrested from other responsibilities or expectations.[151] Belinda Jack's recent survey of *The Woman Reader* shows how "women readers have long been associated with sexual

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[149] "Ich spielte mit meiner Freundin Franziska mit den Papierpuppen höchst interessant.....Auch beendeten wir heute den rothen Freibeuter von Cooper. Es ist doch ein herrliches Buch. Ich gestehe, es hat mir 2 Thränen entlockt. Hier schäme ich mich ihrer nicht, wenigstens nicht so, als derer bei der Erkenntnis von Heinrichs Gleichgültigkeit gegen mich....." Cooper's *The Red Rover* was published originally in 1827, and translated in 1828 as *Zahlreiche Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen für die Jugend, Der Rote Freibeuter oder Der Rote Seeräuber*." Anna Krahmer, diary, 1 March 1831, 1677/II, DTA.

[150] Grenby, *The Child Reader*.

[151] Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 218.

illicitness and moral degeneration, and male readers with power and authority."[152] Adding nuance, Kathryn Steele examines the gendered problem of the "obedient reader."[153]

Histories of women readers have often focused on cultural anxieties around the dangers of women's autonomous literacy. But in the nineteenth century this anxiety was not only about gender, but often also about age (think of the famous parody in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, which features Austen's youngest heroine). In 1841, Anna Hasenfratz wrote to her older brother, away at university, to solicit his moral opinion on her desire to read novels (see Chapter 6). But many Enlightenment pedagogues believed that read books could virtuously rescue children from other vices: Pedagogues began to promote the consumption of books, especially for children, as a moral middle-class rejection of aristocratic dissipation. Describing the goal of furnishing his utopian school with an appropriate school library, Basedow asked his potential patrons to pay a little money for books for children, money which might otherwise be spent on "the tobacco tins, the cases, the furniture, the various collars, the barber, the masquerades and the solos in color (ladies and gentlemen!), to say nothing of the foreign wines..."[154] As the reading world of Europe broadened, books came to figure a diverse host of threats and opportunities. I suggest that paying attention to discourses around child readers as a population of potential will reveal profound ideologies about knowledge, the self, and European society.

<u>German book markets</u>

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[152] Jack, *The Woman Reader*, 2.

[153] Kathryn Lenore Steele, "Navigating Interpretive Authorities: Women Readers and Reading Models in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers, 2008).

[154] "Das Werk wird viel kosten, sagt man. Aber das werdet Ihr nicht sagen, Verehrungswürdige Freunde, denn ich bin Willens, erst fünfzig für die Armut oder für diejenigen zu sorgen, welche in fünfzehn Jahren nicht zwanzig Reichsthaler zum Besten eines Kindes für Bücher ausgeben können. Was kosten in solcher Zeit die Tabaksdosen, die Etuis, die Garnituren, die vielfachen Manschetten, die Friseurs, die Maskeraden und die Solos in Couleur, (Mesdames und meine Herren!) der ausländische Weine zu geschweigen?" Johann Basedow, *Das Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* (Leipzig: Casp. Fritsch, 1771), 8.

By the 1760s, as Helmut Walser Smith writes, "the world of German learning had become a German-language world."[155] This move toward the vernacular was one of several key transformations of the Central European book trade in the late eighteenth century. Pamela Selwyn notes that "unlike their counterparts in Paris or London, who might get away with merely selling books over the counter for cash, Germans could never rely on customers in only one city for their livelihood."[156] Although decentralized, German markets were a crossroads of the European book trade and were both productive and dynamic. The eighteenth-century bookseller Friedrich Nicolai, for example, said the profession required "tireless industry" in knowing the books available, handling them, selling and visiting book fairs, printing, and so on.[157] Eighteenth-century German book fairs featured more than 250,000 titles, two-thirds of which were published after 1750.[158] The transformation of the German book market happened astonishingly rapidly, both in sheer quantity of production and in the qualitative shift from religious or classical texts to popular and vernacular genres. Using book trade statistics from Helmuth Kiesel and Paul Münch (1977), Helen Fronius summarizes some of these changes:

> In 1770 25% of books published were theological in content. By 1800 this had fallen by nearly half to 13.5%....As theology declined, relatively new disciplines managed to increase their market share. Geography, pedagogy, political treatises, popular philosophy, and natural sciences all approximately doubled their market share from around 2% in 1740 to around 4-5% in 1800.[159]

Pedagogy increasingly became one of the most reliably profitable sections of a German bookseller's catalog. Pamela Selwyn notes that while Nicolai might typically publish 750 copies of a novel in the 1790s, and more obscure texts were published in runs as low as 225,

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[155] Smith, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, 6.
[156] Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade*, 30.
[157] Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade*, 30.
[158] Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser,* 53.
[159] Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era 1770-1820: Determined Dilettantes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 140-41.

the 1805 edition of Johann Matthias Schröckh's world history reader (which is a key text in Chapter 4) was issued in 5000 copies.[160]

Figure 4. Frontispiece, *Abeze- und Lesebuch* (1807)[161]

One sphere in which adults sought to capture child readers' attention in the nineteenth century was commercial. With the rise of children's book markets, these texts entered more and more children's lives as desirable commodities.[162] (The children clamoring around their father in this frontispiece from an alphabet book published by Campe in 1807 would certainly agree.) As Karen Sánchez-Eppler writes, "Books have not only an affective and moral function in the production of domesticity, but a more material role as well—they

[160] Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade*, 43.
[161] Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Sämmtliche Kinder- und Jugendschriften: Abeze- und Lesebuch*, Vol. 1 (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1807).
[162] On books as commodities in the time period, see Matt Erlin, *Necessary Luxuries: Books, Literature, and the Culture of Consumption in Germany, 1770-1815* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

are things to buy, own, and display."[163] For example, consider Johann Günther Friedrich Cannabich's *Kleine Schulgeographie* (*Short School Geography*), published in at least 17 editions from 1818 to 1851 in Weimar. Apart from its commercial success, the Cannabich text is especially interesting as evidence of the changing market: for example, one edition advertises that purchase comes with a "tie-in," a discount on a school atlas from the same printer. Many of the more popular schoolbook series were also published in an abridged edition like the Cannabich text. These shorter, cheaper versions were meant to serve as an introduction to the study of geography, perhaps particularly for home use. The final pages of many textbooks, like this one, advertise other titles the printers hoped would interest young readers and their teachers. Even if adults were purchasing the books, children could read the topics and see the prices directly. The choices and desires of consumption offered a certain kind of reading agency for children, even while expanding markets influenced the disciplining force of children's education.

[163] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, 29.

Sources and Chapter Overview

Tuesday. This morning I wrote to Otto. Herr Bertsch and Herr Lerscher didn't come. This evening I was in the garden. I gave Luise Göhring her book back.

- from the diary of Marie Seybold, age 10 (July 6, 1830)[164]

When I frequently would like to have a good book for myself, I always first estimate whether so much remains leftover that I can buy the necessary books for [my children] before that. I often wish to possess one thing or another that would serve my comfort: but as soon as I consider that this could go into sufficient payment for a few months to one of the tutors who teaches them in one or another of the arts and sciences; then I happily deny myself these comforts.

- Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund*[165]

Alongside one another, these two passing moments trace the revelations and frustrations that attend research in the history of children's education. The two texts illustrate the dual strategy I have pursued through research in archives and historical libraries.[166] Marie Seybold's words seemingly offer the historian "real evidence" of her participation in literacy practices of the nineteenth-century Bildungsbürgertum: writing letters to her brother, taking lessons with tutors, borrowing books from friends, and, most crucially, dutifully recording these activities in her diary. But because this is an elliptical historical document, there are many unanswerable questions: What book did she borrow from Luise? What exactly was their relationship? What did Marie think about the book, and why did she borrow it? What books did she herself own, and did she ever lend them out? Did the friends discuss their reading together?

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[164] "(Dienstag) Diesen Morgen schrieb ich an den Otto. Herr Bertsch und Herr Lerscher kamen nicht. Diesen Abend war ich im Garten. Ich gab Luise Göhring ihr Buch wieder." Seybold, 6 July 1830.

[165] "Wenn ich oft selbst gern ein gutes Buch hätte, so überschlage ich allezeit erst, ob so viel übrig bleibt, daß ich vorher die nöthigen Bücher für sie kaufen kann. Oft wünsche ich mir, ein oder das andere Ding zu besitzen, das zu meiner Bequemlichkeit dienen würde: aber so bald ich überlege, daß dieses zur Bezahlung eines Lehrmeisters, der sie in einer oder der andern Kunst und Wissenschaft unterrichten könnte, auf einige Monate zureichen möchte; so versage ich mir diese Bequemlichkeit gern." Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1 (Leipzig: Crusius, 1776) [orig. October 2-16, 1775], 4-5.

[166] Because "childhood" is not a traditional category around which archives are typically organized, this research has required developing my own archive across nearly 20 institutions in Germany, France, and the United States. Please see the bibliography for a full list of archives and research libraries with abbreviations.

By contrast, the fictional family exploits described across many issues of Christian Felix Weiße's periodical are imagined in fine detail. The prominence of this passage (in the very first issue of *Der Kinderfreund*) makes it clear that the new bourgeois family was inextricably made through education: Weiße celebrates books as a highly desirable commodity, and as something that the new child subject deserves. This message circulated in a range of prescriptive texts, likely producing varied effects in both adult and child readers of this periodical. But because we only have the text itself, it is difficult to say anything definitive about those reader responses. My dissertation intervenes in research on the family and education that has relied heavily on prescriptive, top-down evidence from pedagogues by placing archival evidence from family papers, especially children's own writing, alongside texts written for children.

At the heart of this inquiry is the question of how children read in the past and how that changed, a subject which demands creative reflection about how texts are produced, circulated, and interpreted. Just as children themselves have been left out of written histories, many of these sources have been previously overlooked because they are scattered in different collections and require new methodological approaches to be historically contextualized. Scholars have not yet connected the new theories of pedagogy, family culture, and genres of children's literature of this era with children's agency as manifested in their everyday lives and literacy practices. I use texts written for children and archival documents that help to make the missing connections.

Accordingly, the dissertation is organized as a series of studies in practices or genres of literacy that constituted children's education through overlapping but varied audiences, chronologies, purposes, and rhetorics. Each chapter attends to changes in both the cultural meaning of childhood and children's social experiences. Each unit moves between an

examination of social context and a close reading of the particular genre. Through each genre, I also hone in on important aspects of the larger historical transformation that I address through childhood history: *gender ideologies* in the development of a market for youth periodicals; *class dimensions* of the transformation of folklore from an oral tradition for adults to a fixed literary form for children; the role of geography textbooks in the constitution of German-reading children's *global perspectives*; children's development of *social networks* through letter writing; and *self formation* in youth diaries. These mark out important dimensions in the territory of German children's literacy from the 1770s to the 1850s, as young people encountered different forms of education at home, at school, and in the world. While each set of texts reveals a different side in the prism of literacy practices shaping subjectivities, they coalesce in a convincing picture of children's active participation in their education.

Part II of the dissertation comprises three chapters on new genres specialized for children's reading. Apart from the alphabet books of very young readers and the novels read by both adolescents and adults, this selection of practices represents the key genres of an emerging children's literature.[167] In Chapter 2, "Reading Serially, The New Enlightenment Youth Periodical," I examine Enlightenment periodicals with special attention to the fashioning of gendered subjectivities in the book market for young people.[168] The commercial expansion of a new genre—a precursor to the later nineteenth-century golden age of children's books—provided a literary laboratory for pedagogic ideas about children's innocence and the cultivation of self control; at the same time, the growing success of these publications indicated the reimagination of child readers as a distinct audience. Not only did adults' desire "to amuse and instruct" signal greater attention to child readers' desires and

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[167] Both youth periodicals and fairy tales for children included explicitly religious content, although my dissertation does not directly examine children's bible reading.

[168] While gender is an especially salient concern in the periodicals because many texts were targeted explicitly at girls, I do consider gender as a category in each chapter.

agency, but the spread of such texts offered more opportunities for children themselves to negotiate their reading education.

Chapter 3, "Telling Tales: Class and the Transformation of Folklore," investigates how radical changes in fairy tales during the early nineteenth century shaped child readers' understanding of class. Taking as its initial premise the fact that fairy tales are neither simple nor static, this chapter discusses the transformation of a popular, adult oral form of folklore to literature for middle-class children. The use of fairy tales is profoundly driven by political and social concerns, but most historians have examined these stories with attention to sexuality, nationalism, or other themes. I posit that the cultivation of a bourgeois child reader was as critical to some folklorists' projects as was the promotion of an imagined national community.

As with periodicals and fairy tales, a new geographic education for children was just emerging in the years around 1800, the subject of Chapter 4, "Reading the World: The Geographic Education of German Children."[169] A descriptive, memorization-driven approach to geography instruction gave way in the fashioning of a modern approach to geographic education. Now understood as a social science concerned with the dynamic relationship between humans and nature, the discipline demanded an active, problem-based pedagogy. From the orientation of children in space as armchair travelers to an increased emphasis on map-reading in schools, I argue that the story of geography captures a new active model of learning for German children.

Where the chapters in Part II largely investigate texts children consumed, the chapters in Part III turn to texts children produced. Through looking at writing *by* children,

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[169] While historians of education have worked with textbooks, these studies often focus primarily on history books. See, for example, Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne*; Kennedy, "Regionalism and Nationalism"; Katharine Kennedy, "A Nation's Readers: Cultural Integration and the Schoolbook Canon in Wilhelmine Germany," *Paedagogica Historica* 33, no. 2 (1997): 459-80.

this project paints a much fuller picture of literacy practices than formal analysis of children's literature alone provides. Despite their patent interdependence, reading and writing have not only been studied as separate phenomena by researchers, but were taught and understood as distinct disciplines by Enlightenment pedagogues. Especially in this era, it is certainly true that not all readers were writers. But for the new middle-class ideology of childhood which this study explores, writing was an essential component in the emergence of the active child reader.[170] This took a variety of forms: formal essays and quotidian notes at school; poetry (both copied and original), often to accompany a holiday letter or drawing; autograph books (*Stammbücher*), in which school friends and family would inscribe short messages or lines of verse in honor of the recipient; and other informal or ephemeral writing that did not leave archival traces.[171]

Though each of these genres tells us something about children's writing practices, this dissertation focuses on what I am calling domestic writing: that is, texts written in a domestic context, with explicit concern for the home and the family. Letters and diaries were the most ubiquitous and salient forms which middle-class German children practiced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The two genres have much in common: children's letters and their diaries often shared a common audience of parents, both genres facilitated

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[170] Indeed, it is a consequence of the increasing importance of bourgeois children's writing that the texts I analyze were preserved in the first place. Karen Sánchez-Eppler elegantly acknowledges the skewed nature of such an archive, writing of early American children: "Their families valued these children's writing enough to encourage this activity and to preserve the product....These diaries should thus be seen as offering best instances, childhood literacy at its most personal, empowered, and liberating." Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, 19.

[171] Children's imaginative or fiction writing is not a central focus of this study, but there are examples from other contexts, such as the nineteenth-century Hale children's manuscript libraries examined by Sánchez-Eppler or the juvenilia of famous writers like Jane Austen, Lewis Carroll or the Brontë sisters. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "Practicing for Print: The Hale Children's Manuscript Libraries," *Journal of the History of Children and Youth* 1, no. 2 (2008): 188-209; Liz Maynes-Aminzade, "Literary Fetishes: The Brontë Miniature Books," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 24, no. 2 (2013): 27-45; Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster, eds., *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Christine Alexander, "Playing the Author: Children's Creative Writing, Paracosms and the Construction of Family Magazines," in *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage* , ed. Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, 85-103 (London: Routledge, 2013).

children's social relationships, both highlighted the self-formation potential of writing, both were deployed pedagogically by adults, and they even shared some formal qualities, especially by the end of this period. Nevertheless, I have chosen to highlight different qualities of letters and diaries by considering them in separate chapters. My focus on letters as a social literacy practice (Chapter 5) and diaries as a genre of self-formation (Chapter 6) allows us to see these aspects more clearly, but I acknowledge that children used letters for self-fashioning purposes just as diaries played a part in their social literacy.

In Chapter 5, "Writing Home: Letters as a Social Practice," I argue that the widespread practice of letter writing served as a key instrument for the social development of children, with letters recording the participation of bourgeois children in household affairs and kinship networks. In Chapter 6, "Writing the Self: Growing Up with Diaries," I argue that young diarists used their writing as a means of both self-surveillance and self-formation, facilitating the emergence of the active child reader and writer. Finally, in Chapter 7, "'Und sie lebten vergnügt bis an ihr Ende': (Happily Ever After) Conclusions," I highlight some key findings of the dissertation as a whole and indicate directions for future research.

The paradox of children's ubiquity in the face of their apparent absence in the historical record makes finds like geography schoolbook marginalia or dramas written for young people to perform both generative and compelling. By bringing together insights afforded by periodicals, fairy tales, schoolbooks, letters, and diaries, I advance a secondary, methodological goal of the dissertation: to build an archive of children's reading and writing practices in a milieu critical to the history of Western education.

Notes on translation

Unless otherwise noted, all translations from both published texts and archival manuscripts in German or French are my own throughout the dissertation; I have provided the original language in footnotes. This includes quotations from the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in Chapter 3, because my analysis depends on finely tracking changes in editions over time.[172] Given the variability of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orthography, I have tried to avoid using [sic]; however, I have rendered obvious misspellings from children's writing as near-equivalents in the English (for example, "grüße ale filmals" becomes "meny greetings to al").

[172] However, complete English translations from the 1857 (final) and now 1812/15 (first) editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* are available: Jack Zipes, trans., *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 2003); Jack Zipes, trans. and ed., *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: The Complete First Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

CHAPTER 2
Reading Serially: The New Enlightenment Youth Periodical

Little Julie has been shot.

Her brother Karl didn't mean to do it, of course. He just wanted to play with his father's gun, left out for cleaning. He didn't think it was loaded, so he pretended to point it at little Julie and—bang! She fell down, covered in blood. Then Karl ran to their other brother Wilhelm with the horrific news. Oh, poor sister! Oh, poor brother! Wilhelm cried out that he would give his own life for little Julie, and Karl began to tremble, falling in a swoon. Matters grew darker still when their father stormed into the room demanding to know which of his children was responsible. His rage was so terrifying, the brothers began to cover for one another to prevent an awful second murder.

But then. The deus ex machina—or rather, doctor ex machina—arrived to tell the family that not only did little Julie still live (with merely a minor wound), she was claiming responsibility for shooting herself. The physics were briefly called into question, but she nevertheless refused to let Karl be punished. Her brothers ran to her side with caresses and lively expressions of joy. Their father came to his senses as well, grateful to the doctor and his mendacious children for preventing him from shooting his son himself. Struck by their loving defense of one another (if not their honesty), the father eventually forgave them all.

This story paraphrases a dialogue, "Sibling Love: A Play for Children," that was published in seven short scenes in Christian Felix Weiße's highly successful *Der Kinderfreund: Ein Wochenblatt für Kinder* (*The Children's Friend: A Weekly for Children*, 1776-1782).[1] It would be easy to be preoccupied with the shocking content of this awful story, or read it as a

[1] Weiße, "Die Geschwisterliebe, ein Schauspiel für Kinder" *Der Kinderfreund* III: 1-31(Leipzig: Crusius, 1776) [orig. April 1-8, 1776].

metaphoric contribution to anti-authoritarian discourse of the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, I intend to focus our attention instead on the uses of this story as a pedagogic tool. What are the implications of the dramatic form for children's reading practices? What should we make of the elevation of sensibility and horizontal relationships? This little soap opera generates provocative implications for the history of sentiment, sibling relations, the pedagogic use of dialogue, and so on. But first, imagine for a moment the German children in the 1770s and 1780s who might have received this weekly magazine. What can we know about how they might have responded to "Sibling Love"? Would they recognize the characters from previous serials? Who would laugh through the silly opening scene of Wilhelm's arithmetic mistakes and confusion? Who would skip ahead to perform the dramatic scene of the gunshot itself? If a group of real brothers and sisters chose to act out this dialogue, would someone want to play the terrifying father? What if girls read the boys' parts, and vice versa? Which member of the household hierarchy would assume the role of officious director? In those most sentimental moments, what pleasure would child readers find in the vivid, over-the-top stage directions?

We know from family documents (see Part III) that elite German children regularly copied, wrote, and performed their own dialogues with siblings, parents, tutors, and governesses. We know from its frequent appearance in youth periodicals that the specific eighteenth-century genre of sentimental drama would have been familiar to child readers. And we know from folklorists, child development researchers, and our own experiences with and as children that performing and storytelling of some kind are ubiquitous in growing up. We can imagine that siblings read the play together even if they did not act it out, since *Der Kinderfreund* was circulated to a wide range of ages and intended for girls and boys. Finally, we know that the child recipient of this issue of the magazine could turn the page just past

"Sibling Love" for an even more explicit explanation of the moral lesson in this play. The concluding tale which follows "Die Geschwisterliebe" places this drama in a more realistic setting. Weiße suggests that the fictional children from the frame story—and the child readers themselves—could apply this same behavior in the case of a brother who lied for his sister when she broke two porcelain cups. The play and the following moral lesson both point toward the same conclusion, advocating compassion for the feelings of others—even when that suffering is caused by a parent's justified discipline. But the lesson also models a way to read, with the fictional frame children discussing the story they have just heard with their father, identifying with the characters, and investing the story with meaning for their quotidian life.

Without a deus ex machina of my own, the currently available sources do not allow me to claim the details of any particular child's reception of this text. But I do know that the artifacts of such a magazine still exist, and that they were created as part of major transformations in European pedagogy at the end of the eighteenth century. When we take them seriously as historical documents, youth periodicals published in the years around 1800 reveal much about the history of literacy education and ideologies of childhood, and provide some answers about practice even without direct evidence of children's reading reception.

Figure 5. Cast list and facing illustration of Christian Felix Weiße's "Die Geschwisterliebe" from *Der Kinderfreund* (1776)[2]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

In this chapter, I demonstrate how Enlightenment youth periodicals served as a key instrument in the emergence of the active child reader. The commercial expansion of a new genre provided a literary laboratory for pedagogic ideas about children's innocence and the cultivation of self control; at the same time, the growing success of these publications indicated the reimagination of child readers as a distinct audience. Forms such as dialogues for children's performance and serialized tales both scripted and responded to changing reading practices. The stories themselves depicted ideal readers and sentimental family life in line with the new ideology of childhood, but were also subject to a range of possible readings and misreadings. Enlightenment periodicals especially contributed to the emergence

[2] The caption on the lower left reads, "The setting is in a schoolroom in Herr Curt's home." "Der Schauplatz ist in einer Schulstube in Herrn Curts Wohnung." Note that the illustrator chose to focus on the sentimental climax of Wilhelm and Karl embracing their recovered sister.

of a new kind of reader through the fashioning of gendered subjectivities in texts directed both at girls and at a cross-gender audience. Not only did adults' desire "to amuse and instruct" signal greater attention to child readers' desires and agency, but the spread of such texts offered more opportunities for children themselves to negotiate their reading education.

After explaining how the genre developed from the explosion in youth periodical publishing at the beginning of this chapter, I then discuss the forms and the stories from a set of popular periodicals for children—that is, how they were written and what they were written about. Finally, I examine the construction of gendered subjectivities in periodicals as one crucial element in young people's changing reading practices. Throughout, I indicate ways of thinking about child readers' reception and practices around the developing genre of youth periodicals.

Genre Development

In their style and format, youth periodicals of the European Enlightenment owed a debt to the moral weeklies that had been published for adults since the early eighteenth century (building on an English tradition).[3] The 1770s and 1780s witnessed an explosion of magazines, weeklies, yearbooks, almanacs, and other serialized readers especially redesigned for children and youth.[4] Based on my analysis of approximately 60 titles published between 1756 and 1855, I argue that the swift adoption of periodicals by pedagogues demonstrates a growing preoccupation with children's literacy practices.[5] Pedagogic use of serial publications also underscored this era's reimagination of childhood as a separate stage of life that required its own books. Periodicals provided a simple mechanism to generate new texts quickly that were written for new child readers as a guide to moral action and emotional expression. Crucially, these texts also carried the pedagogic aims of the Enlightenment into the home.

Typical Characteristics

What counted as a youth periodical in European publishing at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century was not as clear as, say, the qualities which identify children's magazines like *Highlights* or *Cricket* in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century United States. In addition to wide variation, the lines with other genres were fluid,

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[3] On the influence of English moral weeklies in German periodicals, see Ruth-Ellen Joeres, "The German Enlightenment (1720-1790)," in *The Cambridge History of German Literature*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 197-98.

[4] Despite the prevalence of these texts among the historical sources, Hubert Göbels's assessment that children's periodicals were neglected in German scholarship of the 1970s largely holds true today. "Periodicals for children and youth are hardly found in the history of German youth literature." "Periodica für Kinder und Jugendliche finden in der Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur kaum." Hubert Göbels, *Das Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder (1772-1774): eine Studie über d. älteste deutschsprachige Kinderzeitschrift* (Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1973), 1.

[5] Half of the periodicals in this set were explicitly aimed at girls and half at a general audience. Most (49) were originally published between 1770 and 1835. Publication places included traditional Central European printing strongholds such as Leipzig, Tübingen, Berlin, and Vienna, as well as smaller towns such as Altenburg and Gotha, and some French titles.

since some periodicals were very short-lived and some single books were so frequently updated in subsequent editions that they functioned in ways similar to magazines and yearbooks. For example, Nadine Bérenguier writes about Madame Jeanne Marie Leprince's *Magasin des enfans* (*Children's Magazine*, orig. 1756) as a conduct book, which it certainly was by its content. But it was also a regularly issued serial publication which served as the model for many future periodicals from German, French, British, and American publishers. I suggest that we should also attend to the form of such a text and the implications for its function in children's education. Another overlapping genre is periodicals which were really Hausvater-style advice manuals for parents. One interesting example here is Christian Gottfried Böckh's *Wochenschrift zum Besten der Erziehung der Jugend* (*Weekly on the Best in Youth Education*, 1771-1772), which explicitly divided the text in two sections: one part advice literature and curricula addressed "to parents, teachers, and Children's Friends," and one part "instructive prose and poetry pieces for children."[6] As one of the earlier youth periodicals I have encountered, this combined text seems to me to be evidence of the transition period into a fully-fledged, segregated children's literature industry. It also invites intriguing questions about what the child reader might have made of the pedagogic literature included in the same volume as his or her own reading material.

But beyond these variations, what did a typical Enlightenment youth periodical look like? (Please see Figure 6 for the tables of contents of two typical publications.) Some form of serialization was key, though this category includes titles that were published as frequently as twice weekly and as infrequently as annual yearbooks. Some only lasted about a year, but longevity increased moving into the nineteenth century.[7] A few titles introduced at the end

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[6] "An Eltern, Lehrer, und Kinderfreunde....teils prosaisch, teils poetischen lehrreichen Stücke für Kinder." Christian Gottfried Böckh, *Wochenschrift zum Besten der Erziehung der Jugend* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1771-1772).
[7] The surprisingly influential *Für deutsche Mädchen: Eine Wochenschrift* (*For German Girls: A Weekly*, 1781-1782) only ran for one year, for instance, while *Das Pfennig-Magazin für Kinder* (*The Penny Magazine for Children*, 1833-1855) lasted 22 years.

of the period under examination here lasted in some form into the early twentieth century. Most magazines and weeklies had short runs, but surprisingly wide distribution. Some were short-lived because their creators moved on to other projects but nevertheless increased in popularity from year to year.[8] The volumes were usually small—often pocket-sized—and ranged in the quality of their paper, printing, and presentation. As with schoolbooks and fairy tales, technological innovations throughout this period increased the number and interest level of accompanying illustrations. Some included fold out copies of sheet music for folk and art songs, underscoring their cultivation of bourgeois arts.[9] Many of the earlier periodicals still followed the old practice of an opening letter of dedication to a royal patron.

Johann Christoph Adelung, *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* **1 (October-December 1772)**

Issue 1
An allegory which teaches the ultimate purpose & the true use of human life in this world.
An anecdote from Duke Pico della Mirandola.
Issue 2
The Gold Piece, a Story in Letters
Issue 3
A list of good deeds left undone.
Amru, an oriental anecdote.
Issue 4
Travel Narrative of Three Children.
Conversation, Little Carl and Little Caroline.
Issue 5
Good Fortune and Bad, an Allegory
Issue 6
Dialogue about Social Deportment
Issue 7
Of Pearls and Pearl Fishing
Teachings of Wisdom
Issue 8
To Parents & Supervisors on the Purpose & Use of this Weekly
Issue 9
The Lost Child
Three Friends
Issue 10
An Excerpt from Little Carl's Diary
Issue 11
Diffidence and Impudence, an Allegory
The Roe Deer, a Fable
The a Miller Hans, a Tale
Issue 12
Journey of a Young Prince in the World
One Cannot Please Everyone, a Fable
Issue 13
Continuation of the Journey of a Young Prince
A Small Account of Human Life
Issue 14
On the Recent History of Poland
Issue 15
Conclusion of the Recent History of Poland
On Hobby Horses
Issue 16
Jupiter and the Farmer
Goodhearted Jacob
Issue 17
Some of the Natural History of Birds
Issue 18
The Miser
The Fox, the Rooster, and the Hound

[8] For example, Karl Engelhardt's homage to Weiße, the *Neuer Kinderfreund* (*New Children's Friend*, 1796-1799) was published more frequently and in a richer format in its last volume of 1799.
[9] There was variation here, too: Christian Karl André's *Der Mädchenfreund* (*The Girl's Friend*, 1789-1791) included five fold-out original songs on themes such as "The Worth of Religion" ("Der Werth der Religion") and "Diligence" ("Der Fleiß"). But the music in *Flora* usually featured more sophisticated salon pieces like "A previously unpublished Italian folk song" ("Ein italienisches, bisher ungedruckte Volkslied," 1794).

The Nightingale, The Crows, and the Donkey
Issue 19
Conclusion of the Journey of a Young Prince
Teachings of Wisdom
Issue 20
Description of the Petrel
Something on Mature Mice
Issue 21
Charity, a Persian Story
Richard Steele, an Anecdote
Issue 22
The Three Hillocks
Issue 23
Conclusion of this piece
The Shrubs and the Oak Tree
Issue 24
Bliss, from Homer
The Astrologer and the Beggar
The Poet and His Patron
The Children and the Mirror
Issue 25
Little Carl's Dream, to Little Caroline
Issue 26
Virtue and Vice, an Allegory

Monat-Rosen: Zeitschrift für Belehrung und Unterhaltung **4, no. 1 (1843)**

A Story à la Kaspar Hauser
A Christmas Party in Norway (from the Revue Britannique)
The Empress and the Soldier
The Capuchin Monastery at Palermo (from Alexander Dumas)
The Fatal Wager
Loustannau, the French Mahratten-General
Proof of Friendship (From the youthful memories of a French officer)
A Paragon of Feminine Discretion
The Sailor, or The Cross of Mother of Pearl
A Council of the Negro
Anecdote
On Holiday in the Desert
The Sailor of Pollet
The Blackberry Bush
The Cornetkeuche (Carinthian Sage)
The Imprisonment, Arrest, Death Sentence, and Burial of General Joachim Mürat
The Battlefield of Eylau (9 February 1807)
Battle of Friedland (14 June 1807)
The Falkenburg
The Castle Brigitte
On the Knight-Captain's Path to Death (from Alexander Count of Württemberg)
The Journeys of Jesus Christ
The Daughter of the Governess
The Plague Ship
The Thaler
Marshal Burne and His Wife
The Three Young Women from the Lake
On the Natural History of the Elephant
Divorce, or The Human Heart is a Wondrous Thing (from Henrietta Hohenhausen)
Public Life in Beijing (from a Russian priest)
Fanchon the Lyre Girl (the Count of E.)
One Day Prince (Farce with historical basis)
The Life Span of Some People
Prussian Folk Legends:
1. The Bell of Attendorn
2. The Cologne Cathedral
Legends from Salzburg and its Surroundings
1. King Watzmann
2. Of Juvavia
3. The Mönchsberg at Salzburg
4. Unterster near Salzburg
The Battle of Lutzen in 1813 (Tale from H. K.)
Scenes from the Life of a Female Dragoon
The Illness & the Last Moments of the Emperor Alexander of Taganrog (from an eyewitness)
The Sign Language of the Deaf
Hun Attacks and Hun Battles
The Bloody Sword at the Church of Our Lady in Halberstadt
The Profiteering Baker in Berlin
The Resurrected Woman
The Daring Girl
Jewish Crimes
Elizabeth's Roses
The Black Death
The Persecution of the Jews
St. John's Church at Altenberga
St. John's Church Will Not Stand in the Valley
The Seer of Death
The Good Idea
Windsor Castle
An Election in England
Street Clamor in London
The Card Players
The Bishop and the Cat
The Magic Ring

Figure 6. Tables of Contents from Two Typical Periodicals

Authors and Readers

Many authors of youth periodicals, both men and women, asserted their natural authority as teachers or parents in order to connect with the child reader audience.[10] For example, Leprince de Beaumont's time as a governess in England prompted her to write the *Magasin des enfans*, the text that essentially launched European youth periodicals. Along with her publisher, she explicitly offered her governess experience as evidence of her knowledge of children and moral authority on their education. Meanwhile, Christian Felix Weiße painted a picture of his narrator surrogate in the first issue of *Der Kinderfreund* as a self-sacrificing father whose only pleasure in life was his children.[11] Writing of the same device from French conduct-book authors, Nadine Bérenguier calls this "The Crucial Role of Experience."[12] Though Bérenguier perhaps takes these claimed biographies too much at face value, since authors were often deliberately performing deliberate parental roles, some previous connection to children's education was a common background for the women and men of letters who turned to amusement periodicals in their pursuit of a youth audience. We know from the correspondence of publishers like Friedrich Nicolai and Johann Friedrich

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[10] From a significant body of scholarship on women authors in the German Enlightenment (many of whom wrote for a youth audience), see Ruth-Ellen Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes, eds. *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social and Literary History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Ulrike Weckel, "The Brief Flowering of Women's Journalism and Its End around 1800" in *Gender in Transition: Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750-1830*, ed. Ulrike Gleixner and Marion Gray, 175-201 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006); Helen Fronius and Anna Richards, eds. *German Women's Writing of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Future Directions in Feminist Criticism* (Oxford: Legenda, 2011).

[11] "Diese meine Liebe zu Euch gewinnt überdies dadurch einen großen Zuwachs, da ich selbst Vater von vier Kindern bin, die ich mehr als alle Schätze der Erde, mehr als die ganze Welt, ja, ich möchte fast sagen, mehr als mein Leben liebe, und jene große Hoffnung auch von ihnen einst erfüllt zu sehen hoffe und wünsche. Einen so freudigen Endzweck zu erreichen, wende ich alle meine Bemühungen, Kräfte und Vermögen an. Ich entsage alle Vergnügungen, damit ich ihnen Vergnügen und Unterricht verschaffen kann." (Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund: Ein Wochenblatt für Kinder* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1776), I: 4.

[12] Nadine Bérenguier, *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 26.

Cotta that they spent time soliciting contributions for their periodicals from a range of authors and philosophes, but those individual pieces were rarely attributed.[13]

While some of the periodicals I have examined were explicitly aimed at young children below the age of 10, in many cases the imagined audience of these periodicals was primarily older youth. However, age is one of the most obvious boundaries of publishers' intended audience that was permeable in practice. This can be seen in the subscribers' list published in the *Niedersächsisches Wochenblatt für Kinder* (*Lower Saxony Weekly for Children*, orig. 1774) in its 1781 and 1783 volumes. Families of four or five children were all listed by name, spanning enough years to imply that youth may have read before or beyond the age of intended audience.

Subscriptions

In some cases, especially where publishing house records are not available, it is difficult to determine precisely how young readers acquired periodicals. One early weekly magazine did explain in each issue the ideal methods of finding the *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* (Leipzig Weekly for Children, 1772-1774):

> In the coming new year, this weekly paper will still be issued on the usual days, namely Mondays and Thursdays, both at the local newspaper stall as well as in the Crusius bookshop in Paulino. Elsewhere it is to be had both at any post office and in the principal bookstores.[14]

The frequent publication of this title (from the author Johann Christoph Adelung) is worth noting, as is the assertion of other distribution places (the newspaper stall and post offices)

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[13] There were some exceptions, especially in periodicals which exploited the market through reprints. For example, Christian Gotthilf Salzmann's *Bibliothek für Iünglinge und Maedchen* (*Library for Youths and Girls*, 1787) offered a collection of fables, poems, and stories from eight different authors (including Betty Gleim and Christian Felix Weiße). The fact that this publication emphasized the credentials of its authors as an attractive selling point is evidence of the success of the genre and penetration of children's book authors into market consciousness.

[14] "Dieses Wochenblatt wird auch in dem bevorstehenden neuen Jahre an den gewöhnlichen Tagen, nämlich Montags und Donnerstags, sowohl auf der hiesigen Zeitungsexpedition, als auch in dem Crusiussischen Buchladen im Paulino, ausgeben. Auswärts ist es sowohl auf allen Postämtern, als auch in den vornehmsten Buchhandlungen zu haben." *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* vol. 1 (1773).

beyond the publisher's main shop. A later volume of this weekly noted that additional materials (letters "written" by the child protagonists of the weekly stories) were being sold to benefit educational institutions in the Ore Mountains of Saxony.[15] This example highlights the expansive ambitions of many creators of German youth periodicals, alongside obvious regional concerns.

Eighteenth-century European publishing was financed by reader subscriptions in genres other than periodicals. Much like a "Kickstarter" for the age of the *philosophe*, subscriptions were collected by publishers or authors from across wide regions in order to finance various kinds of books. But serial publications were obviously especially ripe for the subscription process, since readers could invest in a title and continue to receive new volumes over time. This was not the only model for youth periodicals emerging at the end of the Enlightenment (young people or the adults who purchased books for them could also simply walk into a shop to find magazines and weeklies, or buy them at book fairs), but it was quite common.[16] For example, the first edition of Leprince's *Magasin des enfans* included a note on subscription between the foreword and the main text:

> We warn people who wish to see the continuation of this magazine, that it cannot be printed, unless we are sure of one hundred subscriptions; they are therefore urged to subscribe early by sending their names to the Author, or to the Editor of this first volume.[17]

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[15] "Eben daselbst sind auch von den Briefen von Kindern an Kinder, zwey Stück zu haben. Jedes Stück, so einen Bogen stark ist, wird zum Besten der erzgebirgischen Erziehungsanstalten zu Werdau und Aue für I gl. verkauft." *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* vol. 2 (1773).

[16] Pamela Selwyn cites Reinhard Wittmann to determine that at least one-sixth of works in German advertised between 1770 and 1810 were sold by subscription. Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment, 1750-1810* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 76.

[17] "On avertit les personnes qui souhaiteront la continuation de ce Magasin, qu'il ne pourra être imprimé, à moins qu'on ne soit seur de cent souscriptions; elles sont donc priées de vouloir souscrire de bonne heure, en envoyans leurs noms chez l'Auteur, ou chez l'Editeur de cette première anée." Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des enfans* (1756), 1.

In this case, they exceeded their initial modest hopes, and continued to issue new volumes of the *Magasin*. To encourage subscriptions, publishers offered special deals, as when the first volume of *Für deutsche Mädchen* (*For German Girls*, 1781-1782) noted that subscribers would receive the next volume at their known address with the special rate of 4 issues at 3 guilders.[18] Paul Nitsch, the editor of *Für deutsche Mädchen* wrote "with prophetic spirit" that he would like to begin with at least a couple hundred "admirable girls" as readers.[19] Written for younger girls, this publication was very regularly printed, missing only one week during Christmas. Even though it was short-lived in its original run, it was popular enough to be collected and reprinted by the printer Harpeter some years later. In fact, many of these periodicals, especially in the eighteenth century, were gathered and reissued in bound volumes.

Even where a list of subscribers seems small to us today, its existence could be of great value in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book trade. When publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta and author Marianne Ehrmann had a famous falling out over the popular girls' periodical *Flora*, Ehrmann created a new journal but Cotta had possession of the original subscription list and was able to continue sending out magazines under the cover of the old title.[20] More significantly for my purposes, the different forms of subscription for youth periodicals formed a useful tool for the cultivation of a community of youth readers.

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[18] "Nachricht: Das erste Stück des zweyten und letzten Theils wird künftigen 6ten Oktobr. ausgegeben; übrigens erhalten die resp. Subscribenten, nach der schon bekannsten Einrichtung, 4 Stück für 3 gl." Paul Nitsch, *Für deutsche Mädchen* Vol. 1 (1781), 3.

[19] "Die Auflage dieser frühen Mädchenzeitschrift war nicht groß, wie aus einer Bemerkung des Herausgebers P. F. A. Nitsch (1754-1794) zu entnehmen ist. In seinem Beitrag 'Die Methode' (II, 221) heißt es nämlich: 'Ich setze mich also diesmal ganz mit prophetischem Geiste an mein Schreibpult nieder, und sehe wenigstens ein paar hundert vortrefliche Mädchen—so viel Leserinnen möchte ich ohngefähr in Deutschland zählen können.'" Hubert Göbels, *Zeitschriften für die deutsche Jugend: Eine Chonographie 1772-1960* (Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunikation, 1986), 28.

[20] Ulrike Weckel, "The Brief Flowering of Women's Journalism and Its End around 1800" in *Gender in Transition*, ed. Ulrike Gleixner and Marion Gray (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006), 185.

The explosion of the genre was not possible without the participation of German families, both in a financial and a print culture sense.

Foundational Titles

In this general context, several titles from the late Enlightenment stood out as especially successful or influential for the development of youth periodicals and children's literature extending into the nineteenth century. They also furthered the emergence of the active child reader through their establishment of normative practices for children's reading and propagation of ideas about children's subjectivity. These landmarks include some publications already mentioned: Madame Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des enfans* (first published 1756) and its German translation (first published 1761), Johann Adelung's *Leipziger Wochenblatt* (first published 1772), and its successor, Christian Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund* (first published 1775).

The first on that list, and indeed, one of the earliest periodicals written for young readers, is not actually German but French. However, Leprince's series of magazines for children and young women were not only translated swiftly into German, but also circulated in their original French among educated families in Central Europe.[21] In fact, a French edition of the first volume was published in Berlin at least as early as 1782 (by Arnold Wever). Hubert Göbels notes that this "bestseller" was "surely intended for private reading as well as for school use."[22] In the early years of European children's literature, pedagogues justified the amusement of reading as an aid to learning, but books like the *Magasin des enfans* opened the door to a new idea that children deserved pleasure, humor, and narrative, not only moral development. This commitment was then mobilized by the market for children's

[21] On the dramatic commercial success of the *Magasin des enfans,* see Barbara Kaltz, "*La Belle et la Bête*: Zur Rezeption der Werke Mme Leprince de Beaumonts im deutschsprachigen Raum," *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 13, n. 3-4 (1989). See also Bérenguier (2011), 14-15.

[22] "Die vorliegende Berliner Ausgabe, sicherlich als Privatlektüre und auch für den Schulgebrauch gedacht, bestätigt, daß Madame le Prince mit ihrem "Magazin" in der Tat einen Bestseller verfaßte." Göbels (1986), 108.

books developing during the end of the eighteenth century through the expansion of new genres such as youth periodicals. In the foreword to her *Magasin des enfans*, Leprince unsurprisingly described her primary purpose as "the acquisition of virtue, the correction of vice... Everything we say to children, everything we write for them, all that is brought before their eyes must aim at this end, or be skillfully led there by an able master."[23] But she also blamed children's distaste for reading on the choices of books that "we place in their hands."[24] This model of desire and choice did not entail allowing children freedom to find books to their own taste or, for that matter, to choose not to read at all. Rather, Leprince and subsequent pedagogues called for new moral stories that would also be entertaining (according to adult prescription).[25]

For the most part, the German translation of Leprince's *Magasin des enfans* (directly translated as the *Magazin für Kinder*) preserved the original characters and stories. The translator, Johann Joachim Schwaben, produced the first German edition just one year after the initial publication. Some changes, however, reflect a sensibility that shaped other German children's books and heightened effects relevant to the emergence of the active child reader. Choosing Dresden as a similar social world to the original text's London setting, Schwaben noted that the characters would not be referred to as "Lady" or "Mademoiselle" but rather

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[23] "...l'aquisition des vertus, la corection des vices....Tout ce qu'on dit aux enfans, tout ce qu'on écrit pour eux, tout ce qui s'offre à leurs yeux, doit tendre à cette fin, ou y être amené adroitement par un habile maître." Leprince (1756), v-vi.

[24] "Le dégoût d'un grand nombre d'enfans pour la lecture, vient de la nature des livres qu'on leur met entre les mains; ils ne les comprennent pas, & de là naît inévitablement l'ennui." Leprince de Beaumont (1756), iii.

[25] Interestingly, Leprince claimed to be wary of fairy tales for children, though her work is probably best known today for her canonical version of Beauty and the Beast.

by terms befitting daughters of a *bürgerliche* house ("Fräulein" and "Jungfer").[26] Schwaben's interpretation of Beaumont's educational mission was framed in classic terms of the German Enlightenment, invoking both rationality and sentiment: "She seeks in these children ... to improve their hearts and enlighten their minds, two important things which we should see in every interaction with children especially."[27] He simultaneously recommended Beaumont and contributed to the redefinition of children as morally innocent, pedagogically malleable, and sensitive to emotional influence. Any changes that Schwaben made to the actual stories, he wrote, were motivated by a desire to prevent potential misreading: "It is true that such small errors naturally shape the character of a childish tale...I simply wished to avoid [errors] in those stories which are presented to children during lessons..."[28] This itself reveals an awareness by the author of the imagined child reader's potential agency to take different meanings from the text than those intended. But even more interesting is the following passage, in which Schwaben writes that he was careful to keep the children's speech authentically "childish" even in his translation. His assertion of a "natural" mode of children's speech and literacy was then offered as a script to teach real children appropriate behavior and language.

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[26] "Ich fiel auf Dresden, wo ich noch die meiste Aehnlichkeit mit dem antraf, oder doch anzutreffen meynete, wovon die unterredenden Personen zuweilen in ihren Gesprächen handelten, und worauf sie deuteten oder gewiesen wurden. Die Kinder darinnen konnten demnach keine Ladys und Miß mehr seyn; sondern ich mußte sie zu Töchtern aus einem adelichen und vornehmen bürgerlichen Hause machen. Weil ich dadurch nun Fräulein und Jungfer bekam, so wollte ich ihnen auch die französischen Namen nicht lassen, sondern gab ihnen dafür deutsche..." Schwaben, "Vorrede des deutschen Herausgebers," *Leprince de Beaumonts Magazin für Kinder* (1761), viii.

[27] "Sie suchet diesen Kindern...ihr Herz zu bessern, und ihren Verstand aufzuklären; zwey wichtigen Stücke, worauf man bey jedem Umgange mit Kindern hauptsächlich sehen sollte." Schwaben, "Vorrede des deutschen Herausgebers," *Leprince de Beaumonts Magazin für Kinder* (1761), iv.

[28] "Es ist wahr, dergleichen kleine Irrungen machen den Charakter einer kindischen Erzählung natürlich...Allein, ich wünschte doch, dass sie in denen Erzählungen vermieden würden, die man Kindern zum Unterrichte vorlegete..." Schwaben, "Vorrede des deutschen Herausgebers," *Leprince de Beaumonts Magazin für Kinder* (1761), x.

In the German context, one of the first youth periodicals which included many of the markers of the changing pedagogic philosophy was the *Leipziger Wochenblatt*.[29] Though it only ran for two years, the editor Adelung's use of a direct sentimental address to the child reader, epistolary and dialogue forms, and moral-didactic stories serialized across regular, short issues established a popular model for youth periodicals. This model was notably taken up by Christian Felix Weiße in his weekly *Der Kinderfreund,* an even more widely disseminated publication.[30] By opening the first issue with a reference to what he called the sadly discontinued *Leipziger Wochenblatt*, Weiße tried to capitalize on the previous magazine's reputation.[31] But in doing so, he also indicated the rise of this new genre—the idea that the end of the first magazine left a void which must be filled by further publishing efforts. Furthermore, Weiße's publication, though similar in format, actually turned out to be more successful, and it deepened the connections between changing ideologies of childhood and reading practices.[32] He followed it with a book written entirely as letters among the characters he introduced in *Der Kinderfreund,* called the *Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes* (*Correspondence from the Family of the Child's Friend*, 1783-1792). Weiße, who was already a successful author and well-known in Enlightenment *philosophe* circles, gained his greatest popularity with *Der Kinderfreund*.[33] Samuel Baur wrote in 1790 that "this excellent book founded an epoch in the world of children, and will still remain one of our best children's

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[29] See Hubert Göbels, *Das Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder (1772-1774): eine Studie über d. älteste deutschsprachige Kinderzeitschrift* (Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1973).

[30] On Weiße's influence and his role in Enlightenment literary networks, see Katrin Löffler & Ludwig Stockinger, eds. *Christian Felix Weiße und die Leipziger Aufklärung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2006).

[31] Weiße's periodical seems to have been largely unrelated to the series of schoolbooks published under the same name, spawned by Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow (see Chapter 1). Hubert Göbels, ed., *Der Kinderfreund: Ein Lesebuch zum Gebrauch in Landschulen* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1979).

[32] Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund* is largely acknowledged by German scholars as the first significant periodical for children. See, for example, Adalbert Merget, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendlitteratur* (Berlin: Plahn Buchhandlung, 1882), 20.

[33] "Weiße, der sie durch seinen Kinderfreund bald den Beifall des ganzen pädagogischen Deutschlands erwarb, von Eltern und Erziehern die ermunterten Briefe erhielt und von denselben in Erziehungs-Angelegenheiten um Rat gefragt wurde. Selbst vom englischen Hofe her ward ihm Anerkennung zu teil." Merget, 21.

books long from now."[34] Some 50 years after *Der Kinderfreund* first appeared, Moritz Rothe included the following riddle in his own periodical, the *Taschenbuch für die Jugend* (*Pocket Book for Youth*, 1812-1829):

Charade of three syllables.

The first two [syllables] describe not everyone,
Who devotes his reasoning to this riddle,
But it can be heard and read,
And it could also easily be possible
That we might become this once again
Before we finish our great journey
in this earthly world.

If we now turn to the third syllable,
It presents to us the person who is good from the heart,
Holds with us in all things, takes our part both in a time of pain
And when the sun shines with happiness.

The whole thing is a book; it is also a man,
But he only warrants that name
If he is the last syllable for those first two.[35]

The first two syllables are *Kinder*, "children"; the last syllable is *Freund*, "friend." It is a striking statement about the circulation of texts and this figure of the Enlightened "children's friend" that Rothe expected his young readers to be able to decipher the riddle and recognize the reference to Weiße's "The Children's Friend" without trouble.

Subsequent magazines in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries built on Weiße's model in terms of format and expectations for child readers. This was signaled in titles such as the Karl Engelhardt's *Neuer Kinderfreund* (*New Children's Friend*, first published

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[34] "Dieses vortreffliche Buch hat in der Kinderwelt Epoche gemacht, und wird noch lange eins unserer besten Kinderbücher bleiben." *Charakteristik der Erziehungsschriftsteller Deutschlands: Ein Handbuch für Erzieher* (Leipzig: Johann Benjamin Georg Fleischer, 1790), 556.

[35] "Charade von drei Sylben. Die beiden ersten sind nicht Alle schon gewesen/ Die diesem Räthsel ihre Denkkraft weihn/ Doch ist's zu hören und zu lesen/ Und leicht könnt' es wohl möglich seyn/ Daß wir es würden noch einmal/ Eh' wir in diesem Erdenthal/ Die große Wanderung vollenden./ Wenn wir uns nun zur dritten Sylbe wenden/ So stellt sich der uns dar, der's gut von herzen/ Mit uns in allen Stücken meint, Theil an uns nimmt, zur Zeit der Schmerzen/ Und wenn des Glückes Sonne scheint./ Das Ganze ist ein Buch; 's ist auch ein Mann/ Doch führet diesen Namen er nur dann/ Wenn jenen ersten er die letzte Silbe ist." Moritz Rothe, *Taschenbuch für die Jugend* (Leipzig: Magazin für Industrie und Literatur, 1829), 258-59.

1796). Authors who had been successful in other genres for adults and youth entered the periodicals business, including Amalia Schoppe and Sophie von LaRoche, and other models also appeared. For example, the *Bildungsblätter oder Zeitung für die Jugend* (*Education Pages, or Magazine for Youth*, 1806-1811) was presented as a newspaper-like journal, published three times a week with a number of large engravings. It did borrow much of its content from other writers for children like Weiße, von Rochow, and Glatz. German youth periodicals specifically written for girls such as Paul Nitsch's *Für deutsche Mädchen* (*For German Girls*, 1781-1782), began to appear in the 1780s and 1790s. As years passed, more were targeted at even younger readers. By the late nineteenth century, the formats for children's newspapers and magazines became more standardized; of course, they also became cheaper and more widely disseminated. *Das Pfennig-Magazin für Kinder* (*The Penny Magazine for Children*, 1834-1838), a weekly published by Brockhaus, was a prototype for later magazines that were printed cheaply in a large format and then rebound annually to reach an even larger audience. By contrast, the years around 1800 were a time of experimentation for pedagogues and literary authors interested in cultivating child readers.

Thus, the rapid expansion of the genre of Enlightenment youth periodicals itself reveals the emergence of concern for the active child reader. A review from Friedrich Nicolai's authoritative *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* (Universal Germany Library) gives some sense of contemporary awareness of the changing landscape of children's reading in 1775:

> We are beginning to receive a great wealth of writings for young people, and this is not the worst among them. Wisdom may be found in every quarter; the presentation is very comprehensible and appropriate for the capabilities of youth; thus the young soul finds here such matters through which it must

> be awakened to the fear of God and love of humanity, once it is able to accept good thoughts and sentiments.[36]

More praise followed in this review of the *Niedersächsisches Wochenblatt für Kinder,* but also some criticism of its weakness. Ultimately, the reviewer recommended that the publishers of the weekly hold off on continuing the next volume before success was assured and its usefulness to the target audience proven. The adults involved in the production of periodicals for youth asserted their power to form individual morals and enlighten minds, but because of that weighty responsibility there were debates and differing priorities in how periodicals would be used to educate children.

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[36] "Wir fangen an einen großen Reichtum an Schriften für die Jugend zu bekommen, und diese gehört nicht zu den schlechtern unter denselben. Allenthalben zeigt sich gefunden Verstand; der Vortrag ist sehr fasslich und den Fähigkeiten der Jugend angemessen und dann findet die junge Seele hier lauter Materien, wodurch sie zur Gottesfurcht und zur Menschenliebe erweckt werden muß, wenn sie anders gute Gedanken und Empfindungen anzunehmen fähig ist." *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* volume 26 (1775), 248.

Form

In this section, I examine different formal elements of youth periodicals—*how* the material was conveyed to young people—and suggest some implications of these strategies for the child's reading experience. It is not just authors' explicit articulations of their pedagogical goals that may contribute to our understanding of childhood during the Enlightenment. The particular and diverse forms of these periodicals highlight different ways child readers might have used and misused them. Some magazines featured serialized stories—were these followed eagerly from the beginning or picked up mid-narrative? How did periodicals attempt to build loyalty to a serial publication among their readership? In the mixed form, "variety show" of most texts, it is easy to see how readers might pick and choose a poem to reread here, an essay to skim there, or a play to perform. Nevertheless, authors tried to direct their audience through the prefaces included at the beginning of many magazines, which also attempted to exert control over the relationship between author and reader. Frame narratives were also commonly deployed to model ideal reading practices and moral behavior, usually in a family setting. Finally, dramatic dialogues took on special importance for children's reading. Taken together, these elements of form and style created a new kind of reading environment for youth.

Periodical strategies shape child reader response

As is evident through this dissertation, reception is difficult to assess historically or in contemporary studies. Nevertheless, authors of Enlightenment youth periodicals constantly worried about how their texts affected their contemporary child readers. Christian Felix Weiße encouraged children to write to him with their responses to *Der Kinderfreund*:

> All of you who will read these pages, I give you permission to enlighten me of your needs by writing to me, or even to say what you dislike about my

> weekly magazine. Perhaps I can resolve the first through suggestions and some good advice, just as I will certainly remedy the other [problem].[37]

Madame Leprince de Beaumont even claimed to have tested her manuscript for the first volume of the *Magasin des enfans* with some real girls of her acquaintance. "I needed other judges, and I searched for them among my pupils of all ages. They all read my manuscript. The child of six years was entertained by it, as well as the ten-year-old and fifteen-year-old."[38] Leprince had worried (with some degree of false modesty) that the book's success with adults meant she had missed her target audience, but this response from real child readers encouraged her to publish.

When making decisions about how to organize periodicals, authors and pedagogues considered the possible uses children might make of them. For example, when he translated the *Magasin des enfans* into German, Johann Joachim Schwaben explicitly identified the mode of morally guided literacy which Leprince's strategy promoted. In his added preface, he described the exchanges between the fictional girls and their teacher which structured Leprince's text:

> The children [in this story] think, speak, and act according to their inclinations, their disposition, and their reason. She praises and encourages them for what they have done and said correctly, or helps them to be right and punishes them when they err and make mistakes. Therefore, one discovers in [this text] not only the chief weaknesses and deficiencies of their stage of life, but also the ways and means of how one could lift them up and improve them.[39]

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[37] "Ich gebe euch allen, die Ihr diese Blätter lesen werdet, die Erlaubnis, mir schriftlich eure Bedürfnisse zu entdecken, oder auch zu sagen, was euch an meinem Wochenblatts mißfält. Vielleicht kann ich den ersten durch Vorschläge und einen guten Rath abhelfen, so wie ich dem andern gewiß abhelfen werde." Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* 1: no. 1, 31.

[38] "...il me faloit d'autres juges, & je les ai cherchés parmi mes écolières de tous les âges. Elles ont toutes lu mon manuscrit. L'enfant de six ans s'en est divertie, aussi bien que celle de dix & de quinze." Leprince, ii.

[39] "Die Kinder denken, reden, und thun nach ihren Neigungen, nach ihrer Gemüthsart und nach ihrem Verstande. Sie lobet und bestärket sie bey dem, was sie recht gemacht und gesaget haben, oder hilft ihnen zu Rechte und bestrafet sie, wo sie irren und Fehler begehen. Man entdecket also darinnen nicht nur die vornehmsten Schwachheiten und Gebrechen ihres Alters, sondern auch die Mittel und Wege, wie man solche heben und verbessern könne." Schwaben, preface to Leprince, vi.

Schwaben imagined readers of his *Magazin für Kinder* taking a similar approach, so that they would learn from these supposedly realistic models of both good and bad behavior. Attending to different formal elements of youth periodicals illuminates the choices authors made to shepherd children toward the correct messages in their reading. But forms such as dialogues that included erring or disobedient children could also lead to a kind of counter-reading authors did not intend; similarly, the diverse genres which made up individual issues of a periodical could easily allow bored child readers to skip any pieces which did not captivate them.

Serialization as new factor in children's reading

In a nostalgic aside from his bibliography of youth periodicals published 1776-1960, the literary scholar Hubert Göbels deftly evokes the potential meaning of a short, serialized publication for the child recipient of one of these regularly published little volumes. Defining the terms "children and youth periodicals," he writes,

> (Who did not encounter these in his youth, these items for collecting & trading [that were] so easy to transport in the jacket pocket or schoolbag? Which one could consume secretly, even by the shine of a flashlight and possibly entirely under the bedcovers?)[40]

The intimacy Göbels expresses may reflect a more modern practice from his own childhood in the early twentieth century, but this emotional resonance between children and their magazines was beginning to spread by the early nineteenth century as an ideal for how children should read and desire books. Periodicals especially offered an object marked as the child's own, the next issue of which she might await with excitement, share with friends, or keep for herself.

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[40] "Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften sind als Druckerzeugnis Lieferungen in wöchentlicher, monatlicher oder anderer zeitlicht Erscheinungsweise, sie sind Heftchenliteratur. (Wer hätte sie in seiner Jugend nicht kennengelernt, die in der Jackentasche oder im Schulranzen leicht zu transportierenden Sammel- und Tauschobjeckte? Die man heimlich, auch beim Schein der Taschenlampe und möglicherweise gar unter der Bettdecke, konsumieren konnte?)" Göbels, *Zeitschriften für die deutsche Jugend* (1986), 8.

Of course, as with books for adults, the rise of serialization in the eighteenth century held important market implications. Scholars have suggested that serializing stories or novels from already popular authors was one key strategy publishers used to draw in an audience for new periodicals.[41] Christian Felix Weiße emphasized the serial format of his new publication in a not-so-subtle exhortation of his child readers to buy into the weekly if they wanted to receive more of it:

> I want to share my children's amusements with you weekly, in place of that weekly magazine that was so very dear to your hearts [the *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder*]. Perhaps you find it not so pleasant as that one; but I give you as much as I have: The appetite with which you will collect it from the publisher and read it will soon persuade me whether I should continue these little family amusements or should break it off.[42]

The weekly acquisition of *Der Kinderfreund* was intended to propel interest in the title. The growing popularity of serial stories for children was also reflected in format changes of Paul Nitsch's *Für deutsche Mädchen* over the course of its short run. Opening with several discrete stories and poems contained within one 16-page issue, by the second year more and more of the weekly was taken up with long stories "to be continued" in the next issue. Not only does this imply that Nitsch could assume a consistent readership over time, but it also indicates a more intense relationship of the youth reader with continued characters and themes. The same effects on children's reading practices of serialized periodicals could be observed in titles that were regularly reissued in new editions, or by the promotion of well-known authors by publishers. Books and periodicals were becoming understood and marketed as essential commodities for children themselves to desire.

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[41] Kirsten Belgum, "Domesticating the Reader: Women and Die Gartenlaube," *Women in Germany Yearbook* 9 (1993): 99.

[42] "Ich will die Unterhaltung meiner Kinder wöchentlich, statt jenes Wochenblattes, das Euch so sehr am Herzen lag, Euch mittheilen. Vielleicht ist sie nicht für Euch so angenehm, als jenes; aber ich gebe Euch so viel, als ich habe: Die Begierde, womit Ihr es bey dem Verleger abholen und lesen werdet, wird mich bald überzeugen, ob ich diese kleinen Familienunterhaltungen fortsetzen, oder abbrechen soll." (Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1: 7)

Youth periodicals as variety show

As should be obvious from the typical tables of contents listed in Figure 6, periodicals presented children with a wide range of genres and styles—a literary variety show. Despite the ephemeral nature of some magazines and weeklies, this meant that some volumes could be kept almost as reference books, to be dipped back into on future instances for pieces of music, poetry to memorize, or the earlier issues of a serialized story. This indicates a fundamentally different relationship with printed texts than the early modern young student studying linearly and orally from a select number of volumes absolutely controlled by a teacher. Further on in this section of the chapter, I will specifically address one of the most common genres featured in youth periodicals (dramatic dialogue), but here I offer a few brief comments on some of the other forms and genres which made up a typical Enlightenment youth periodical.

Writing about Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund* in the later nineteenth century, Adalbert Merget suggested that the variety of "tales...poems, especially fables, riddles, essays, plays, dialogues and correspondence between children and their friends" served to enliven and tie together the family stories which Weiße used as a framing device: "The instructional pieces from the various fields of study mentioned above were woven into the family life events which are the basis of the book, as also happens still today [late nineteenth century] in youth periodicals."[43] To Merget, this diversity of forms made periodicals naturally appealing for a family audience. Hubert Göbels points to an alternative explanation of the grab-bag style of youth magazines and weeklies—i.e. their market appeal. He writes that authors, "sought to win over the reader not only with enticing titles; they also took no small trouble to bring

[43] "Die gewählten Formen für Belehrung und Unterhaltung sind: Erzählungen, doch keineswegs romanhafte, Gedichte, besonders Fablen, Räthsel, Lehraufsätze, Schauspiele, Gespräche und Briefwechsel zwischen den Kindern und ihren Freunden....Die Lehrstücke aus den verschiedenen, oben angedeuteten Gebieten der Wissenschaft sind in die Vorgänge des im Buche zum Grunde gelegten Familienlebens verwebt, wie es auch wohl heute noch in periodischen Jugendblättern geschieht." Merget (1882), 21-22.

their magazine to men (and women!) through the means of variety in the individual articles."[44] Göbels points out that authors had to master a rather difficult list of genres to make their publications sell successfully, noting poems, learned treatises, instructive tales, fables, and journalistic reports. And indeed, Weiße made the mélange of material in *Der Kinderfreund* one of its selling points, promising in the first issue to include interesting engravings and sheet music in future installments.[45]

A few youth periodicals contained illustrations inside each issue, but these were rare before the 1830s. Most visual information came in the form of frontispieces at the beginning of each volume. By far the most common theme of frontispieces in Enlightenment youth periodicals was reading, specifically in a domestic setting. Whether in a book-lined study or a bucolic generic scene, these opening illustrations made it clear that a child's world should be built from books and family. The frontispiece of the third volume of Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund* (1776) showed an energetic group of six boys and girls of various ages, apparently preparing to perform a dialogue together with their teacher or father. Though many of the pictures emphasized literacy as a path to Enlightened middle-class sociability, some also stressed an individual child's personal relationship with or proper desire for books.

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[44] "Doch nicht nur mit verlockenden Titeln suchen die Herausgeber dieser Periodika den Leser zu gewinnen, sie sind nicht minder bemüht, auch durch das Mittel der Abwechslung in den Einzelbeiträgen, ihre Zeitschrift an den Mann (und die Frau!) zu bringen." Göbels (1973), 7.

[45] Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I: no. 1, 30-31.

Figure 7. Frontispiece of *Der Kinderfreund*, Volume III (1776)[46]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

One surprise is that allusions to Greek and Roman culture were as popular in texts aimed at girls as at boys, which was reflected in the frontispieces of girls' periodicals. For example, the opening illustration of Antonia Wutka's *Encyklopädie für die weibliche Jugend* (*Encyclopedia for Female Youth*, orig. 1802), displayed a young woman in vaguely Roman dress opening a book on top of a pedestal, with the caption "To the Best Mother."[47]

[46] This illustration also offers the delightful sight of a little girl in spectacles on the bottom left of the illustration.

[47] On classical themes in girls' literature, see, for example, the German publication of Karl Albert de Moustier's *Griechische und römische Mythen: in Briefen an Emilie* (1803-1804).

Figure 8. Frontispiece of *Encyklopädie für die weibliche Jugend* (1802)[48]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

However, though many frontispieces in general periodicals showed both boys and girls together, groups of all boys were more common than groups of all girls. An illustration of women and girls alone often depicted a sentimental scene like this one from the fourth volume of Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund* (the 1776 edition). A mother kisses one child with another literally hanging on to her apron strings.

Figure 9. Frontispiece of *Der Kinderfreund*, Volume IV (1776)
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

[48] Antonia Wutka, *Encyklopädie für die Weibliche Jugend* (Prague: Caspar Widtmann, 1802-16).

Perhaps the most interesting illustrations came from the combination of these messages, as in an illustration from the seventh volume of *Der Kinderfreund* (third edition, 1781) which depicts an affectionate sister and her brothers clearly receiving the same instruction in astronomy from their tutor.

Figure 10. Frontispiece of *Der Kinderfreund*, Volume VII (3rd edition, 1781)
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

Music was a common theme in youth periodicals, with songs on various subjects included amid the essays and stories, but several publications also included actual sheet music as a fold-out addition. These songs were usually fairly simple, offering a melody line with keyboard accompaniment and a few verses. For example, Christian Karl André's *Der*

Mädchenfreund provided the lyrics and notation for such songs as "To Youth," "The Worth of Religion," and "Diligence."[49]

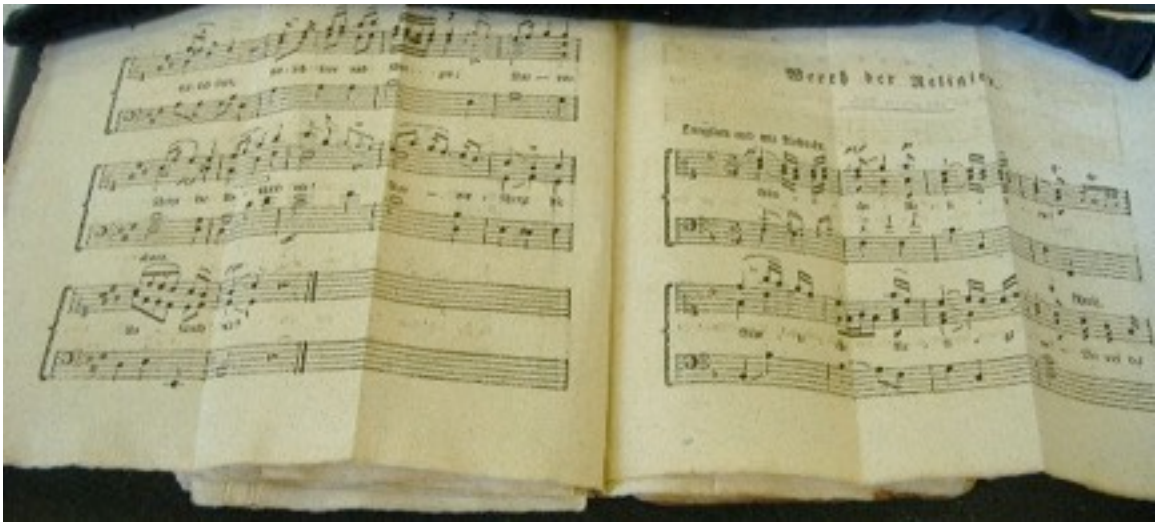

Figure 11. Fold-out sheet music from *Der Mädchenfreund* (1789)[50]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

Music was one of the "extras" which made certain periodicals more attractive, and may have contributed to determining the price of different editions and republications. The inclusion of sheet music and songs as poetry certainly had to do with the cultivation of bourgeois accomplishments in child readers, but the styles also reveal a nascent folk nationalism. Music was thus another way in which youth periodicals were a useful tool for training the ideal middle-class German child.

Beyond illustrations and music, the list of common forms which made up typical youth periodicals was long.[51] Poetry included both digests of highbrow work by authors like Goethe and Schiller as well as newly composed didactic odes to various virtues. Riddles were not uncommon, alongside their specialized form, charades. Games were also sometimes on

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[49] "An Jünglinge," "Werth der Religion," "Der Fleiß." *Der Mädchenfreund* (1789).
[50] Christian Karl André, *Der Mädchenfreund* (Leipzig: Crusius, 1789).
[51] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the common use of epistolary forms in youth periodicals as a pedagogic instrument for cultivating children's correspondence skills.

offer, including instructions for parlor games and the rules of popular card games. "True tales" were popular in some periodicals, as in the account of a courageous pregnant woman who saved a runaway coach from disaster in "The Great Presence of Mind of a German Woman: A True Story," from one of the 1799 issues of *Flora*.[52] Essays were quite common; these were directly addressed to children, sometimes serialized across issues, and concerned largely with qualities of character and family relationships. Academic subjects were offered in a few titles, with content on religion, history, botany, and geography, as with Christian Gottfried Böckh's weekly *Kinderzeitung* (*Children's Magazine*, 1780-1783), whose content ranged from comments on the products of Russia to questions for his readers about an anecdote from Saxon history.[53] Finally, book reviews could be found in some publications, encouraging the child readers to acquire similar texts from the publisher.[54]

Each of these sub-genres and examples invites much more analysis, but my purpose is to understand the effects such a wide-ranging mix of material might have had on the child's reading practice. The reviewer of the *Niedersächsisches Wochenblatt* in Friedrich Nicolai's journal had mixed opinions about the value of the diverse genres and material included in that magazine:

> We also find a rather vast variety in the choice of the material and in the presentation. Sometimes the authors have the children write to one another, sometimes they engage in discussions, at times they present a fable or a song, at times something from natural history, at times from history, and finally at times something from mythology. Of course, we must also admit that not

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[52] "Große Geistesgegenwart einer teutschen Frau: Eine wahre Anekdote," *Flora: Deutschlands Töchtern geweiht: Ein Monatschrift von Freunden und Freundinnen des schönen Geschlechts* Year 7, Volume 1, Issue 1 (Tübingen: Cotta, 1799): 77-79.

[53] These two examples were drawn from the 11th volume of the *Kinderzeitung* (1783): "Rußlands Produkten" (Issue III) and "Höflichkeit des Marschalls von Sachsen" (Issue IV).

[54] Two examples include the *Neues Wochenblatt zum Nuzzen und zur Unterhaltung für Kinder und junge Leute* (*New Weekly for the Use and Amusement of Children and Young People*, 1794) and H. E. Pöschl's *Thusnelda: Zeitschrift zur Bildung und Unterhaltung der Jugend* (*Thusnelda: Magazine for the Education and Entertainment of Youth,* 1843); the latter actually made recommendations for children's books issued by other publishers.

> everything has equal value. The poetic pieces in particular were not all written or chosen with sufficient taste.[55]

It is true that the pressure of producing or collecting so much content for each of these titles on a weekly or monthly basis not only led to short publication runs but also produced quite a lot of third-rate, place-holding items. But more significantly, this patchwork nature of most youth periodicals generated a different kind of reading experience than the limited and highly directed literacy in which children engaged before this period. The variety of forms which constituted the typical text demonstrates the emergence of the active child reader, both because it reveals authors' attempts to shape a sophisticated but "childlike" reading subject, and because it indicates a kind of practice for children that allowed for more imagination, problem-solving, mistaken reading, fantasy, performance, connection to stories, and non-linear reading.

Periodical prefaces construct author-reader relationships

While in textbooks the prefatory remarks were usually addressed to adults (teachers or parents), the forewords and opening words of most periodicals were notably addressed to children. Though adults certainly would have been understood as a secondary audience, this held important implications for how children could claim these periodicals as their own. Authors and publishers used prefaces to imply an intimate, sentimental relationship with their child reader that usually continued through subsequent issues, especially through the use of apostrophe (direct speech to the imagined reader). Authors also used prefaces to instruct children how to read (and how not to), and those prescriptive norms can be revealing.

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[55] "Wir treffen auch eine ziemlich große Mannigfaltigkeit in der Wahl der Sachen und in der Einkleidung an. Bald lassen die Verfasser für Kinder an sich unter einander schreiben, bald sie Unterredungen anstellen, bald kommt eine Fabel oder ein Lied, bald kommt etwas aus der Naturgeschichte, bald aus der Geschichte, und bald endlich etwas aus der Fabellehre vor. Daß alles indessen nicht gleichen Wert hat, müssen wir doch auch gestehen. Die poetischen Stücke sind insonderheit nicht alle genug nach Geschmack gemacht oder gewählt." Nicolai, *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* Vol. 26 (1775), 248.

The phrase "my dear readers," ubiquitous in periodicals, was usually addressed to both genders in the German rather than defaulting to the masculine plural typical of other contexts: "meine liebe Leseren und Leserinnen." This kind of language both imitated and modeled the new ideal of domestic intimacy for children, especially since it often occurred in a fictional family setting. In the piece "The Young Woman Among Youths" from Paul Nitsch's *Für deutsche Mädchen*, the author signing as "R" adds a caveat before beginning a dialogue with a girl named Doris.[56] She writes to her readers, "You will pardon me, though, for speaking with her somewhat informally. We understand each other."[57] And in fact, the dialogue is a little sassy, with some banter and light teasing between Doris and the voice of authority. Both this style and the request for her readers' pardon invite them into a particular kind of relationship with the author. Christian Karl André expressed a similar wish in the first issue of his *Der Mädchenfreund*, writing that he wanted to get to know his readers.[58] Though a few girls may have written letters to André, this was a largely symbolic wish, implying that the character of "The Girls' Friend" could grow close to the magazine's readers through the text itself. A final example of this developing author-reader relationship comes from the preface to the last issue in the first year of publication of the weekly *Das Pfennig-Magazin für Kinder* (1834). Reflecting on his experience, the editor "Karl Große" wrote,

> I have so gladly, so joyfully corresponded with you; it was always so for me, when I sat myself at the desk, as if I saw all of you gathered around me, listening, questioning, pestering me to tell you some story, and there I was so

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[56] Nitsch signed all of his essays and stories in *Für deutsche Mädchen* with the initial "N," but a portion of the pieces in this weekly were signed by "R." Göbels speculates that this unknown author may have been a woman: "Die thematische Eigenart und die dialogischen Phasen innerhalb dieser Texte sind Anlaß zu der Frage: Verbirgt sich hinter dem bislang nicht zu identifizierenden R eine Autorin?" Göbels, *Zeitschriften* (1986), 28.
[57] "Sie werden aber verzeihen, daß ich etwas ungezwungen mit ihr spreche. Wir verstehen einander." *Für deutsche Mädchen* I, no. 9 (June 2, 1781): 132.
[58] "Der Mädchenfreund giebt sich seinen Leserinnen näher zu erkennen." *Der Mädchenfreund* I, no. 1 (1789): 6.

> happy that I gladly reached for the pen in order to write to you that which I could not say to you out loud.[59]

Imagining this scene, the editor invoked a virtual community of child readers. Moreover, by referring to other similar publications in several periodical prefaces, authors conjured up a community of child readers with a set canon of texts they should want to consume.

Periodical prefaces also suggest something about reading practices. For later installments or reissued editions, authors' justifications of their continued publication assigned eagerness for the magazine and reading pleasure to their imagined readers, a sort of "we know you've been waiting for this!" attitude. Some prefaces recommended that the text be shared with siblings or read alongside a parent, implying both that group reading experiences like that were possible and also that some authors feared children were indulging too much in the dangers of solitary imaginative reading. As a common formal element of most youth periodicals, authorial prefaces contributed to crafting the ideal child reader subject, who both delighted in and eagerly anticipated future periodical reading, but also read in socially acceptable ways that would lead to personal moral development.

Frames model ideal family behavior

Frame narratives were a popular device for youth periodical authors; by far the most common was a frame of siblings reading or performing the inner story with a parent or tutor as guide. The outer story modeled the proper setting for children's reading—at home—and how to apply it to a moral life. Just like frames in adult literature, from the *Odyssey* to *Frankenstein*, frames in youth periodicals sought to manage the reader's perspective and attention. Unlike in other literature, however, narrators in the frame stories of Enlightenment periodicals were always presented as reliable guides for child readers. One of

[59] "Habe ich mich doch so gern, so freudig mit Euch unterhalten, war es mir doch stets, wenn ich mich an den Schreibtisch setzte, als sähe ich Euch Alle um mich versammelt, horchend, fragend, in mich drängend, etwas zu erzählen, und da war ich so glücklich, griff so gern nach der Feder, um Euch zu schreiben, was ich nicht mündlich Euch sagen konnte..." *Das Pfennig-Magazin* (1834).

the most popular examples comes from Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund*. Weiße suggested in his foreword to the first issue that children might not understand everything in the weekly magazine on their own. To that end, he created a surrogate fictional family to explain the content while engaging in their own minor dramas, characters with whom he expected the real child readers to identify. For example, after the story of near sororicide with which I opened this chapter, Weiße's fictional family reflected on what they had heard. The teachers in the frame narrative explained to those surrogates for real child readers what lesson they should take from the drama to their real lives.

Settings like this frame narrative were also used in youth periodicals to instruct child readers in bourgeois sociability.[60] Girls and boys were trained in rituals of discourse as a civic virtue, but, crucially, one located in the home. These little discussions of young people in a schoolroom or a group of siblings which framed the primary content of periodical literature modeled for child readers how they should participate in these forms of sociability as part of growing up. Weiße brought various tutors and family friends into the scenes of his fictional frame family as foils for the frame narrator's discussions.

Though frame narratives are a common device in literature, one crucial new aspect of their use in periodicals for children at the end of the eighteenth century is that the frame child was also presented as a flawed being. Just like the real child reader, the characters who were engaged in the reading, performing, conversing, and reciting which made up the action in periodicals were prone to error and yet redeemable. Weiße wrote in his introduction of the frame family that his purpose was, "to help you to get to know my children and our friends: because their conversations quite often reflect their character, and to have as ever the

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[60] On the changing nature of sociability in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, see Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite, eds., *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

virtues or faults of my children and their improvement as my aim."[61] As surrogates for and reflections of the imagined reader, this was a different interpretation of the old "model child" story. To be sure, the purpose was still to govern children's behavior and expression through their education, but the possibility of a generally good but realistically flawed self was now allowed to the child reader's imagination.

As a form common in youth periodicals, frames offered several interesting possibilities for reading practices. As tangential to the main content, unsupervised children did not have to read the frame story at all. They could skip the moral lessons and go straight to the more interesting parts. Alternatively, some children might grow quite attached to the characters of the outside frame, following them from issue to issue like an Enlightenment soap opera. In frame stories with the moral instruction of children at the center, the real reader could identify with or admire the "bad" behavior of the frame children, whatever the author's intent. Or in establishing the model of a perfectly loving, sentimental middle-class family, frame narratives might make real readers conscious of absences or problems in their own lives. But these discussions could also guide how a child would learn to read (especially insofar as the frames were also a model for the parents or teachers reading alongside children), suggesting the safe utility of group reading and adult supervision.

Dialogues script children's reading

The reading practice of dramatic dialogue was perhaps the most transparent way in which new youth periodicals facilitated active reading by children. Pedagogues transformed the adult genre of drama to realize their ideal of engaged, educated children taking an active role in learning. But the common use of plays in periodicals also reflects a broader practice

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[61] "...euch mit meinen Kindern, und ihren und meinen Freunden bekannt machen: denn ihre Unterhaltungen stehen gar oft mit ihrem Charakter in Verhältnisse, und haben wieder die Tugenden oder Fehler meiner Kinder und ihre Besserung zur Absicht." Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1: 7-8.

of performance and imaginative play by children themselves, beyond the strict dictation of adults, which was mutually constituted with their reading.

Just as letter stories owed a debt to epistolary novels of the eighteenth century, dialogues in children's magazines developed out of a popular literary form: sentimental drama. Rather than excerpting current plays or classics for a general audience, however, periodical authors wrote new dialogues with young characters and translated the style to what they believed to be "childlike" expressions. They also highlighted a special pedagogic concern that fictional dialogues should motivate child readers to moral action. Dramatic dialogue provided a key instrument for authors interested in eliciting and managing the youth reader's affective response. Pamela Gay White and Adrianne Wadewitz call this "socializing theater in the domestic sphere" and observe that dialogues in texts for children draw explicitly on the social conversation mode of Locke and Rousseau.[62] This was borne out repeatedly in German youth periodicals, whether dialogue was used as one of a variety of forms as in *Der Kinderfreund* or Mauchart's *Neue Hesperiden,* or served the entire piece as in the *Magasin des enfans* or Wutka's *Encyklopädie für die weibliche Jugend.* As a form, drama allowed for the teaching of spontaneity, encouraging children to rehearse, out loud, the emotions and responses they should express as educated middle-class children. In Wutka and Leprince's case, the dialogue format made it possible to place their didactic messages in girls' voices. For Weiße, the plays included in his magazine especially contributed to what Birgit Prilisauer names his "spielerische Lernprozess" (playful learning process).[63]

The inclusion of dialogues in periodicals also reveals children's reading agency as they literally "acted out" these stories. Stage directions in the periodicals indicate that these

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[62] Gay-White and Wadewitz, "Introduction: Performing the Didactic," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 33, no. 2 (2009): v-vi.

[63] Prilisauer, "Das Kinderschauspiel der Aufklärung—die Intentionen der Autoren im Kontext der Zeit (Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 2009), 27.

dialogues were clearly intended to be performed, or at least read aloud with siblings and friends. For example, Engelhardt instructed child readers to pronounce certain lines in a dialogue from the *Neuer Kinderfreund* in a "laughing voice" or "with a wink" to another character.[64] In "The New Year's Wish" from the *Neujahrsgeschenk für Kinder von einem Kinderfreunde* (*New Year's Gift for Children from a Child's Friend*, first published 1778), the character of Lottchen was meant to give part of her performance "in a sing-song tone."[65] Dialogues offered readers the possibility to assume different characters, take on the authority of direction, and enjoy the pleasure and humor of the physical action.

Just as children's play today is influenced by various media, the particular importance of theatricals to family life around 1800 can be seen in archival evidence. For example, the Breitenburg children in Schleswig regularly wrote dialogues to be performed at holidays, such as the "Christmas Dialogue between the two young counts Detlef and Hans" (1769) and the "Dialogues between August and Conrad" (1784).[66] An interesting comparative example comes from the Bakunin family in Russia in the same era. When she was 14 years old, Praskovia Mikhailovna Bakunin wrote a play for her family to perform at New Year's Eve. Assigning roles to her siblings and including breaks for musical accompaniment, Praskovia dreamed up a sentimental arcadian piece with references to mysterious oracles and the Turkish army. Historian John Randolph writes that

> Praskovia's *Prologue for the New Year 1790* is easy to dismiss as domestic ephemera. The script makes no claim to originality....Praskovia's goal, clearly, was to please her family while laying out a vision of where they lived, who they were, and what it was they were doing in their home in the countryside on a cold New Year's Eve....Whatever Praskovia's literary inspirations or

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[64] "lächelnd...mit einem Wink zu Karl." Engelhardt (1796).
[65] "in einem singenden Tone" *Neujahrsgeschenk für Kinder von einem Kinderfreunde* I (1778): 12.
[66] Weihnachts-Gespräch zwischen den beyden jungen Reich-Grafen Detlef und Hans, Grafen zu Ranzau und Breitenburg, 1769; Gespräche zwischen August und Konrad, 1784, Abt. 127.21 FA L 34, LAS.

> personal motivations, however, we should not forget the political dimensions of her choice.[67]

For Randolph, the content of this little drama reflects several key aspects of life on an enlightened Russian estate. Praskovia's creation also demonstrates the important use of dialogue as a literacy practice and expression of agency by children.

Consequences of periodical forms for child readers

From authors' use of apostrophe to forge intimate, direct links with child readers to dialogues which elevated children's voices, stylistic techniques and formal elements of the new youth periodicals document changing reading practices for German children at the end of the eighteenth century. Some aspects of form adapted over this period in response to new visions of how children should read, such as the transition from parent-addressed prefaces to texts entirely directed to children; others, like serialized stories which sought to connect reading subjects with the subject of reading, simply became more widespread as periodicals for young people themselves grew in popularity. Though much of the content may seem predictably didactic on the surface, the variety of forms employed in youth periodicals underscores their goal to engage the reader's attention and to cultivate a new kind of child subject.

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[67] John Randolph, *The House in the Garden: The Bakunin Family and the Romance of Russian Idealism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 41-45.

Stories

But what did the content of youth periodicals delivered by these forms actually look like? This section turns to the material itself for answers about the interpretative process between text and reader. Some of the most common themes in these periodicals included: filial obedience, sibling love, and other social relations such as friendship;[68] the beauties of nature, holidays & historical topics, and orientalist tales of faraway lands; and character virtues like courage, gratitude, and compassion, often told through fables. What do the stories, essays, and dialogues reveal about children's reading practices? How do they facilitate or constrain the active child reader?

The reading child subject

By transforming reading into an active, engaged practice for children, pedagogues hoped to use texts like these periodicals to foster character development and subject formation—cultivating a new child self. This ideal subject was defined in a number of ways evident in children's reading material.

First, she or he should grow up as a self-controlled middle-class citizen able to make a contribution to society. The dangerous alternative was neatly tied to illiteracy in a report from J. G. Reinhardt's *Der Mädchenspiegel* (*The Girl's Mirror*, 1794), "On the Use of Reading and Writing." In this sad tale, a dishonest man discovered that Anastasia, who had inherited some money, could neither read nor write. Drawing up a fraudulent loan agreement, he disappeared with her money and she was unable to get justice in court. The story ended with

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[68] The importance of affectionate, self-sacrificing sibling relationships was paramount in these texts. The play described at the opening of this chapter, Weiße's "Sibling Love," was not even the only story published in a short period with precisely the same title. It would seem there was an epidemic of unloving brothers and sisters at the end of the eighteenth century to correct, but perhaps a more plausible explanation is that authors were deeply concerned with building lateral family bonds for children's adult lives. For a recent study on the significance and complexity of siblingship in modern Europe, see Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Anastasia's lament: "'Oh, if only I had learned to read and write!' And from that time she told all children to go to school diligently, where they could learn to read and write."[69] One might accuse Reinhardt of preaching to the converted here, extolling the virtues of literacy via the written word. But the dramatic example offered in this story may have held relevance on a smaller scale for girl readers contemplating the purpose of their own education and financial futures.

Second, the individual intellect of the child reader was prized through the encouragement of diligence in education and all things. The trick was to cultivate appropriate engagement but not undirected curiosity (*die Neugierde*). Relatedly, industriousness was one of the most discussed personality traits, but it clearly had different implications for different social groups. The work which children could expect to undertake was gendered. Readers of *Der Mädchenspiegel* received a clear picture of the virtues of women's work in "Die kluge Wahl":

> A clever man wanted to marry, and came into a house in which there were two sisters. The first was pretty, enjoyed preening herself, and did not enjoy doing useful work. The other was hardworking, did all of the housework, and made sure everything was kept in the strictest order. Which of these two is he likely to have married?[70]

A virtuous women (and girl) mastered household labor and avoided vanity. Her industriousness was measured in domestic terms.

Third, children's innocence (*die Unschuld*) and their moral-ethical development was a preoccupation of these texts. Religion played a complicated part in early children's literature. Leprince for example, was deeply concerned with restoring religious faith to the core of

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[69] "'Ach hätt' ich doch lesen und schreiben gelernt!' Und von der Zeit an ermahnte sie alle Kinder, fleißig in die Schule zu gehen, wo sie schreiben und lesen lernen könnten." J.G. Reinhardt, *Der Mädchenspiegel* (Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1794), 74.

[70] "Ein kluger Mensch wollte heirathen, und kam in ein Haus, in welchem zwo Schwestern waren. Die eine war hübsch, putzte sich gern, und that nicht gern nützliche Arbeit. Die andere war fleißig, that alles im Hause, und beobachtete bey allem die größte Ordnung. Welche von beiden wird er wol geheiratet haben?" Reinhardt, *Der Mädchenspiegel*, 51.

girls' education, but had to finesse a confessional challenge that may have contributed to making her work popular with a German audience. Though she herself was Catholic, the girls she taught in her capacity as a governess in England were Anglican. As Bérenguier has observed, religious education was always tied to enlightened academic instruction in Leprince's periodicals.[71] She hoped to find in her readers "a child who is religious through reason."[72] Despite variations and conflicts over the details, piety and the Christian tradition held a definite presence in youth periodicals, and the cultivation of appropriately devout child subjects was explicitly tied to literacy. In the story "The Little Praying Boy" from an issue of the *Neujahrsgeschenk,* Gottlieb learned the purpose of prayer not only through conversations with his exemplary loving father, but also explicitly from a little religious book designed for children.[73]

Fourth, the ideal child subject was defined not only by virtues necessary for future success, but also through relationships. Above all, the parent-child dynamic shaped children's subjectivity, both in texts and in real families. Obedience and affection were newly intertwined in the modern ideology of childhood, and ubiquitous themes in the essays and fiction of youth periodicals. Frequently, the dual ideal was as explicit as in the title of a poem from the *Neujahrsgeschenk*: "Love and Obedience to Parents."[74]

Fifth, periodical authors sought to develop compassion and generosity in their readers. This kind of selfhood was social and philanthropic, deeply implicating children in the making of class cultures even without independent capital. One example of this model of middle-class generosity for children can be seen in the report "The Charity of Some Young Girls," from an issue of the *Bildungsblätter* from 1806. In a story that would resonate

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[71] Bérenguier, 10.
[72] Leprince (1756): xiii.
[73] "Der kleine Beter," *Neujahrsgeschenk* (1779): 37-53.
[74] "Liebe und Gehorsam gegen. die Aeltern," *Neujahrsgeschenk* (1778): 122.

with similar news segments on charitable youth today, the periodical told of two girls aged 8 and 9 who heard about poverty in the Ore Mountains region of Saxony and decided to act. They saved their pocket money and purchased material for winter clothes which they sewed themselves for the poor children. Whether the tale is read as advocacy of compassionate giving or a self-congratulatory middle-class fantasy, what is especially interesting here is the link the author made between reading a story like this and moral development. The piece opened with the question, "What good child would not gladly hear or read something about such young people, who are invigorated by this beautiful spirit of good deeds?"[75] And it closed by underscoring the same sentiment, suggesting that reading about these girls might encourage other children to make some small sacrifices for the pleasure of charity.

Sentiment

Children's books have long provided a domain for the popularization, alteration, and contestation of sentimentalism. At the end of the eighteenth century, the significance writers of the sentimental placed on the reader's affective response was paralleled by the attention authors, pedagogues, and parents gave to managing the child reader's response. Sentiment is thus an important characteristic of youth periodicals, which I examine in terms of how it was deployed to promote the active child reader. What did sentimentalism as a literary trend look like as it moved into a genre written for children? For some, this was a kind of "conditional love," as when Weiße wrote in *Der Kinderfreund*, "for you must know that I love all children most affectionately, as long as they are good, devout, industrious, and obedient children."[76] Still, concerned as they were with the cultivation of rational, reasoning

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[75] "Welches gute Kind hört oder liest aber auch nicht gern Etwas von solchen jungen Menschen, die von dem schönen Sinne des Wohlthuns belebt sind?...Und der segensreiche Erfolg dieser schönen Handlungen wird hoffentlich noch manches wohlwollende junge Gemüt ermuntern, sich, durch Versagung eines kleinen und kurzen Sinnengenusses, einen weit hohen und köstlichern Freudengenuß zu verschaffen." "Wohlthätigkeit einiger jungen Mädchen," *Bildungsblätter oder Zeitung für die Jugend* (March 27, 1806): 296.

[76] "denn Ihr müßt wissen, daß ich alle Kinder recht herzlich liebe, so bald sie gute, fromme, fleißige, und gehorsame Kinder sind." Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1: 3-4.

individuals, some Enlightenment pedagogues resisted sentimentalism and sensibility in children's periodicals.[77] Self-control and obedience continued as important moral threads in the ideology of childhood into the nineteenth century, but sympathy and sensibility were nevertheless added to the mix for an educated middle-class child in the age of sentimentalism. Hina Nazar has recently attempted to bridge the dichotomy between rationalism and sentimentalism. She writes that sentimentalism "importantly shaped one of the Enlightenment's principal legacies to the modern world: the ideal of autonomy or moral self-direction, which began to compete with an older morality of obedience in the eighteenth century."[78] I argue that writing for children particularly exposes the tension between sentimentalism as a moral force and as a seductive threat. Pedagogues appreciated stories and dialogues as instruments for eliciting the child reader's compassionate response to the suffering of others, but they also worried about the dangerous power of independent or indulgent reading, as will be explored below.

As one example, *Der Kinderfreund* operated within a sentimental framework, retooled for a child audience. Even though they squabbled about small things, the children "naturally" loved and respected their father, who wrote in the first issue:

> For I hold the principle that one should make childhood as joyful and prosperous as possible, and should make each type of instruction a game....For this reason they love me, my friends, and their teachers with their whole souls, as I [love] them; and as long as they do no act rashly from

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[77] This tension has been noted by scholars such as Andrea Kuhn and Johannes Merkel, who claim "hardly any sentimental traits may be found in the children's books of the eighteenth century," but nevertheless locate the roots of sentimental nineteenth-century children's literature in canonical Enlightenment texts. "...in den Kinderbüchern des 18. Jahrhunderts finden sich kaum sentimentale Züge." Andrea Kuhn and Johannes Merkel, *Sentimentalität und Geschäft: Zur Sozialisation durch Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im 19. Jh.* (Berlin: Basis, 1977), 28.
[78] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments: Judgment and Autonomy in the Age of Sensibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 1-2.

> childish lapses, they are seldom ungrateful enough to injure me through disobedience or recalcitrance.[79]

As in the play from *Der Kinderfreund* with which this chapter opened, the form of the family drama modeled ideal affectionate family relationships for middle-class child readers, a setting which lent itself to the sentimental. Ute Dettmar has drawn a strong connection between the genre of sentimental drama and ideas about childhood and the family, arguing that such scenes place children in a family environment in order to negotiate cross-generational and cross-gender relationships.[80]

How did other Enlightenment pedagogues deploy sentimentalism as part of the *Bildung* project? The attention to balancing pleasure and instruction that emerged at this moment in new genres such as youth periodicals especially lent itself to sentimentalism because of the possibilities offered by learning through reading fiction. In her dissertation on the promotion of a "sensible self" in eighteenth-century children's books, Adrianne Wadewitz observes that the British counterparts to Weiße and Wutka "saw reading as having a profound effect on children and portrayed numerous child characters as being affected by touching or shocking stories."[81] Similarly in German periodicals, reading was presented as a diversion that would encourage children to make judgments and consider their own behavior in the context of the characters' choices. Weiße used his pulpit of *Der Kinderfreund* to teach

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[79] "Denn ich habe den Grundsatz, daß man der Kindheit ihr Leben so freudig und glücklich, als nur möglich, und ihnen jede Art des Unterrichts zum Spiel machen müsse....Dafür lieben sie mich, meine Freunde und ihre Lehrer von ganzer Seele, wie ich sie; und sind selten, wenn sie nicht von kindischen Fehlern übereilt werden, so undankbar, mich durch Ungehorsam oder Widerspenstigkeit zu kränken." Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I (1776): 7.

[80] "Wie in den Familiendramen des 18. Jahrhundert geht es auch in den kinderliterarischen Varianten, die die kindlichen Protagonisten in ihrem familialen Umfeld auftreten lassen, um die Darstellung von Interaktions- und Kommunikationsformen, um die Verhandlung von Generationen- und Geschlechterverhältnessen. Für die Lektüre dieser Kindheits- und Familieninszenierung ergeben sich damit nicht nur Bezugspunkte zur zeitgenössischen Anthropologie, vor allem zu Locke und Rousseau, deren Kindheitsrekonstrutionen die Entwicklung der Kinderliteratur im 18. Jahrhundert nachhaltig beeinflusst haben." Ute Dettmar, "Aufgeklärte Kindheit, Christian Felix Weiß als Autor für Kinder" in *Christian Felix Weiße und die Leipziger Aufklärung*, ed. by Katrin Löffler and Ludwig Stockinger, 76 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2006).

[81] Wadewitz, "'Spare the Sympathy, Spoil the Child:' Sensibility, Selfhood, and the Maturing Reader, 1775-1815" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2011), vii.

by affecting children's emotions and sympathies as well as by cultivating their rational self-discipline. Sentimentalism, as refracted in children's books, was also deeply connected to sociability, inflected by gender, religion, and class. Wutka's *Encyklopädie* trained child readers in highly affectionate language both among the girls, as part of an early nineteenth-century approach to romantic friendships, and with their teacher, as part of the new model of pedagogic relationships. These two periodicals present two different settings: the middle-class family arranged around a patriarch in *Der Kinderfreund*, and a Catholic community of girls learning from their peers in the *Encyklopädie der weibliche Jugend*. But both intended to use a sentimental reading education to cultivate compassion for others' suffering and a benevolent social self.

Like sentimental literature and drama for adults, sentimental children's books especially focused on stories that the authors believed would cultivate readers' sympathy for the suffering of others. So in Enlightenment youth magazines, the "model child" character was most often identified through sympathetic social relationships, as with the fictional children of Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund*. The narrator's oldest "daughter" Charlotte (age 11) was described at the opening of the first issue as naturally good-hearted—though, interestingly, Charlotte had to be reminded occasionally of her own good nature and compassion. When she teased her younger siblings, it was out of playfulness rather than cruelty, her fictional father fondly remarked.[82] Thus Weiße's readers were reminded to show their own good hearts by proxy, in preparation for reading a series of stories which would solicit that compassion. The narrator of *Der Kinderfreund* also claimed that his familial responsibilities

[82] "Sie ist von Natur gutherzig, scheint es aber oft weniger zu seyn, weil sie ihr kleiner Leichtsinn geschwind über die Gegenstände, wo sie ihr gutes Herz äussern sollte, wegführet; doch bey einiger Erinnerung zur Aufmerksamkeit, giebt sie gern Beweise davon. Ihr lebhafter Witz verleitet sie oft, ihre Geschwister zu necken, und ihnen kleine Ränke abzulaufen; doch verräth sie dabey weniger Bosheit, als Leichtfertigkeit und Muthwillen, und bereuet es gleich, so bald es ernsthaft aufgenommen wird." Weiße, 1776: I, p. 9.

made him a good teacher and observer of human nature because fatherhood "naturally" inclined him toward sympathy for others' needs.

Amusement

One aspect of Enlightenment youth periodicals which reveals the emergence of the active child reader is the crucial fact that they aimed to entertain. So the obvious question is whether and when authors really succeeded in amusing their audience. In a communications study of girls' magazines today, Petra Nickel dismisses texts like Paul Nitsch's *Für deutsche Mädchen* as prototypes of modern publications but not really concerned with pleasure: "The goal here was not to entertain youth, but rather in the sense of molding them in the pedagogic or religious understanding of that time."[83] But a closer examination of these periodicals in their own context shows a different picture. In fact, even though the moral didacticism of such texts may be more obvious to twenty-first-century eyes, their blend of stories, plays, games, songs, and more brought a new degree of imagination, humor, and drama into children's reading lives at the end of the eighteenth century. The material I have studied is much more in line with Dagmar Grenz's analysis, when she explains the term "moral-instructive" for periodicals like Leprince's *Magasin des enfans*: "In contrast to the morals and parental advice, much more space was saved in these texts for the amusing moment...so that one, strictly speaking, must speak of "moral-instructive-entertaining" texts."[84] These goals were intertwined.

Authors articulated a clear motive for this new emphasis on amusement, as a means to an educational end. The narrative strategy of pairing apostrophic essays with short stories,

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[83] "Das Ziel war hier nicht, die Jugend zu unterhalten, sondern sie im Sinne des damaligen pädagogischen oder religiösen Verständnisses zu 'prägen.'" Petra Nickel, *Mädchenzeitschriften: Marketing für Medien* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2000), 82.

[84] "Im Gegensatz zu den Sittenlehren und elterlichen Räten wird in diesen Schriften dem unterhaltenden Moment—vor allem durch den großen Stellenwert der eingelegten Geschichten—sehr viel mehr Raum gewährt, so daß man, streng genommen, von moralisch-belehrend-unterhaltenden Schriften sprechen müßte." Grenz (1981), 31.

so common across Enlightenment periodicals, demonstrated their interest in capturing children's attention to moral lessons through entertaining fiction. In his introduction to the German translation of Leprince's *Magasin des enfans*, for example, Schwaben explained his perspective on how the pleasure of fairy tales and other stories could motivate learning: "One knows how much children love tales such as these, and how attentive they are while listening to something wondrous."[85] He also stressed to his adult readers the importance of making clear to children what was real and what was not, a prescription that indicates awareness of children's potentially imaginative interactions with texts going beyond the strict dictates of authors.

The inclusion of game rules in various periodicals explicitly connected literacy education to new ideas about children's need for pleasure and entertainment. For example, J. D. Mauchart's collection, *Neue Hesperiden* (*New Hesperides: A Magazine for Youth Amusement*, 1804-1807), was almost entirely dedicated to social games. It presented the rules and materials necessary for various educational games suitable to a "Game Evening," followed by dialogues or stories to be shared on a "Reading Evening." The "Spielabende" in the first volume included natural history guessing games with an elaborate table of options, as well as instructions for creating a "large, easy, and cheap" game table; the "Leseabende" of plays and fables was followed by a section of riddles, presumably also intended for group reading entertainment.

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[85] "Man weis, wie sehr die Kinder dergleichen Erzählungen lieben, und wie aufmerksam sie bey Anhörung etwas Wundersamen sind." Schwaben, *Magazin für Kinder* (1767): iv.

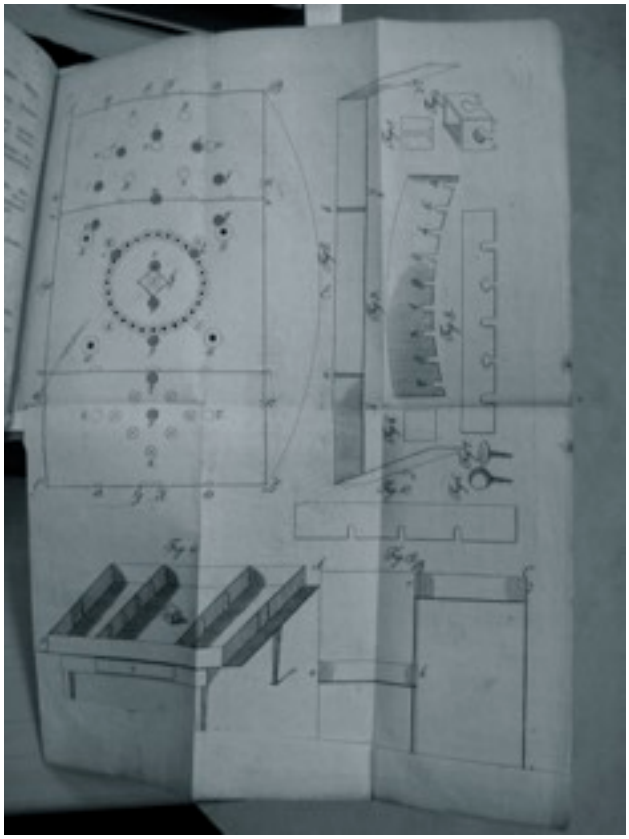

Figure 12. Fold-out diagram for constructing a game table, *Neue Hesperiden* (1804)[86]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

Other than games and riddles, some possible sources of pleasure and amusement for children in periodical reading included the illustrations and music; the light humor of some dialogues; the interactions of recurring, familiar characters; the pleasure of story, conflict, and resolution; the endless realms of imagination to which these stories might open the door; escape from quotidian surroundings; more generally, the interpretative process of reading; and finally the acquisitive joy of a child encountering his or her "own" book.

Of course, many times authors' claims about all the pleasure and fun their texts would surely give to children are not so plausible. Leprince suggested in a convoluted fashion in the first issue of the *Magasin des enfans* that her students applied themselves to their

[86] J. D. Mauchart, *Neue Hesperiden: Ein Magazin für Jugendliche Unterhaltung* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1804-07).

education because they found true happiness in obedience to their parents and their teachers.[87] But even if it seems unlikely that all children chose to please their parents from a pure motivation of personal happiness, there is other convincing evidence that some children found pleasure in this kind of reading. Particularly persuasive is widespread anxiety on the part of pedagogues that child readers might sometimes be having *too* much fun with books. As Nancy Armstrong has written about the "economy of pleasure" of the novel in the eighteenth century, so too were children's books (and periodicals) a site for the careful negotiation of amusement and instruction.[88] The danger of pleasurable reading was the flip side of entertaining moral lessons.

Dangers of reading

The exponential growth in publishing for children at the end of the eighteenth century, of which youth periodicals were a part, spread anxieties about children's reading among the very authors and pedagogues who were producing these texts. They recognized a potential threat in reading that was solitary and unsupervised, or reading that led children toward immoral content (however that was defined). Independent reading might allow children to escape into fictional worlds outside the mediating influence of social authority. This concern demonstrates again the emergence of a new kind of relationship with texts, as well as the part that reading education played in children's expression of agency.

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[87] "Je travaille pour le maître de danse, de musique &c. les autres enfans aprennent ces choses avec dégoût, parce qu'on les y oblige. Je prétends que mes élèves s'y apliquent par principes, parce qu'elles seront convaincues, qu'il n'y a de vrai bonheur, qu'à bien remplir son devoir; que le devoir le plus sacré des personnes de leur âge, est l'obéissance à leurs parens & à leurs maîtres; qu'en leur obéissant, elles obéissent à Dieu, dont ils tiennent la place..." Beaumont (1756): xv.

[88] Armstrong quotes the Edgeworths as an example of the ambivalence and change surrounding girls' reading pleasure in particular: "'With respect to sentimental stories, and books of mere entertainment, we must remark, that they should be sparingly used, especially in the education of girls....' But the same turn of mind recognizes the practical value of pleasure when it is harnessed and aimed at the right goals. Convinced that the 'pleasures of literature' acted upon the reader in much the same way as the child's 'taste for sugar-plums', the Edgeworths along with other forward-thinking educators began to endorse, the reading of fiction that made social conformity seem necessary, if not entirely desirable." Armstrong (1987), 16.

One kind of danger was that children could take the wrong lessons from otherwise well-intentioned material, which was especially problematic with fiction. Ute Dettmar has found that Weiße was criticized for including stories with "anti-heroes" in *Der Kinderfreund* with whom his child readers might identify, "undermining the moral-didactic intention" of the author.[89] Opening up children's reading to the possibilities of engaged, imaginative reading also meant accepting the possibility that they could make their own meanings out the text.

Books could also be dangerous because of the information they contained, as with the young men and women so obsessed with dancing that they walked around with collections of dance figures in their pockets described in one issue of Engelhardt's *Neuer Kinderfreund*. Engelhardt's language in warning against making "a business out of this pleasure" is interesting, since it defines class cultures through the moral values of books, dancing, sociability, and pleasure. Young people learning how to handle books appropriately was a marker of appropriate bourgeois socialization. Engelhardt writes,

> For you, dancing should be recreation after work, cheering up in the long evenings, but not at all a business. There are young people, who...perpetually carry dance music and books with drawings of dance figures with them in their pockets.

He allowed for this sort of scandalous behavior in dancing-masters, who devoted themselves to that purpose, but suggested that carrying around dance music and books was dishonorable for young people with other (middle-class) careers.

> In this way many a young man who would have, had he trained his capacity and talents, become a useful member of human society, neglected the hours of more serious instruction and self-education, pursued dance, and then regretted too late this confusion of the pleasant with the useful. In this way many a young girl has trilled dance melodies all day, lived and moved in

[89] "Daß die Vorführung eines ungebändigten Kindes wider den Willen des Autors faszinierend wirken könnte, daß die Gefahr besteht, die moraldidaktische Intention in der Identifikation mit dem negativen Helden zu unterlaufen, ist auch den Zeitgenossen nicht verborgen geblieben. Weißes Schauspiel ist aus diesem Grund in die Kritik geraten." Dettmar, 91.

> English dances and waltzes, found pleasure nowhere except at the ball, and became a passionate dancer.[90]

This particular discourse on dance could easily have been applied to novel-reading and other pleasures in which children and youth might over-indulge. Perhaps most intriguing in this example is that to warn against this preoccupation with dancing and its textual accoutrements, Engelhardt uses the forum of a periodical that was also accompanied by sheet music, stories of balls, and essays on social life encouraging appropriate relationships between young men and women.

To prevent the wrong kind of reading "which might deprave children's hearts," parents had to be involved, according to the 1797 prospectus for a French periodical, the *Courrier des enfans*:

> Many fathers today do not dare to place a book into the hands of their children without knowing beforehand what it contains, and under what principles it was edited. Can we blame this measure of prudence...?[91]

This passage reflects what was certainly a common practice of parents selecting books and periodicals for their children after consulting pedagogic authorities and peers. But of course it also reveals a clever market strategy on the part of publishers, who co-opted social anxiety

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[90] "Fürs erste also macht aus diesem Vergnügen nicht ein Geschäft.– Erholung nach Geschäften, Aufheiterung in den langen Abenden, soll das Tanzen für Euch sein, aber durchaus nicht Geschäft. Es gibt iunge Leute, welche während der gewöhnlichen Tanzzeit, das heißt, von Michael bis Ostern, die Tanzmusik, und die Bücher mit Zeichnungen der Tanzfiguren, immerwährend in der [241] Tasche mit sich herumtragen. Für Tanzmeister, welche sich ein für allemal diesem Geschäfte gewidmet haben, paßt dies allenfalls wohl, aber iunge Leute, die andre Geschäfte entweder haben, oder zu denselben sich geschickt machen sollten, entehrt es, wenn ihr Verstand mit nichts, als mit diesem Vergnügen, beschäftiget zu sein scheint. So mancher iunge Mensch, der ein nützliches Glied der menschlichen Gesellschaft geworden sein würde, wenn er seine Fähigkeiten und Anlagen ausgebildet hätte, versäumte die Stunden des ernsthaftern Unterrichts und der Selbstbildung, ging dem Tanze nach, und bereuete dann zu spät diese Verwechselung des Angenehmen mit dem Nützlichen. So manches iunge Mädchen trällerte den ganzen Tag sich Tanzmelodieen vor, lebte und webte in englischen Tänzen und Walzern, fand nirgends Unterhaltung als beim Tanz, und wurde leidenschaftliche Tänzerinn." Engelhardt, *Neuer Kinderfreund* (1797): 240.

[91] "Beaucoup de pères de famille n'osent aujourd'hui mettre un ouvrage entre les mains de leurs enfants sans connaître auparavant ce qu'il renferme, et dans quels principes il est rédigé. Peut-on blâmer cette mesure de prudence...?" L. F. Jauffret, *Programme du Courrier des enfans* (Paris: 1797), 3.

about children's unsupervised reading in order to justify advertisements for periodicals as a moral guide.

In her first volume of the *Magasin des enfans*, Leprince drew heavily on biblical accounts for her material. But in the preface, she justified her choice to use the Bible selectively or even censor it by invoking a relatively new understanding of children's innocence, and tying that to the emerging principle of reading as pleasure:

> It is in the name of amusement that I present this story to children. They should not suspect that I want to educate them; this principle allowed me to keep back everything which might bore them. Do I not have the same privilege with those things which I regard as morally dangerous?

But this attitude also reveals the pedagogue's awareness that children had a license to misread or to read the wrong way. Leprince provided examples of Bible stories which could be "misunderstood" by child readers (i.e. stories which children might interpret in ways not sanctioned by enlightened Christian morality). What if the tale of Jacob and Esau taught children that lying and fooling their parents was acceptable under certain circumstances? Leprince then remarked mysteriously that there were even more examples of potentially harmful Bible stories which she chose to forego including, but would not mention by name. Even though the preface was addressed to adults, she was clearly concerned that children might also read this explanation, since "it is dangerous to excite their curiosity too much."[92]

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[92] "A cela je réponds, j'en ai retranché quelques unes, par respect pour l'innocence [xiii] des enfans; je n'avois garde de chercher à exciter leur curiosité, sur une matière, où je regarde l'ignorance comme une béatitude & la interesse de l'innocence. Je sais qu'ils sont à portée de les lire tous les jours dans la Bible... C'est à titre d'amusement que je présente cette histoire aux enfans. Il ne faut pas qu'ils soupçonnent que je veux les instruire; ce motif m'a autorisée à retrancher tout ce qui pourroit les ennuyer. N'ai je pas le même privilège pour les choses que je regarde comme dangereuses pour les moeurs? Quelles réfléxions mes écolières eussent-elles faites, sur cet endroit de l'histoire Sainte, où Jacob, sans respect pour la vérité, trompe son père, sous l'habit & le nom d'Esaü? Elles en auroient conclu, qu'un honnête homme peur mentir en quelques occasions, & qu'on exagère à leur égard l'horreur du mensonge, pour leur en donner de l'éloignement. Je rie cite que cet exemple. Il en est plusieurs autres que je ne puis me permettre de citer, par la raison qui m'a engagé à les mettre; c'est qu'il est dangereux d'exciter trop la curiosité." Beaumont (1756): xiii-xiv.

Indeed, it seems likely that this tempting ellipsis would send some children straight to the source to uncover these scandalous stories.

Gender

Gender was a crucial category by which Enlightenment periodicals furthered the emergence of the active child reader, both in the ideals promoted by authors and in the reality of girls and boys' reading experiences. Reading was understood as a powerful device in the dissemination of evolving gender ideologies. Pedagogues wanted bourgeois girls to participate in new literacy practices alongside their brothers, but in different ways and to different ends. Still, in gendered reading of periodicals, as for other genres, what adults had to say was not the only determinant, and these texts themselves offered opportunities in their contradictions to be read against the gender grain. Though full of dicta intended to govern young women's desires and behavior, the earliest books for girls established a direction for general children's literature to come. Furthermore, they also asserted a kind of equality in education that was later more starkly limited in girls' reading material.[93]

The importance of gender to the set of historical dynamics under examination in this study is especially apparent in periodicals because so many texts targeted specifically at girls and young women suddenly appeared in the eighteenth century.[94] For example, book production for children and youth in France (where Leprince de Beaumont wrote her *Magasin des enfans*) jumped nearly 400% from the first half of the eighteenth century to the second half, and about 200 titles were published for girls between 1750 and 1830.[95] Dagmar Grenz makes the important point that in the German context, girls' periodicals were not always counted in general book catalogs or review journals such as Friedrich Nicolai's

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[93] Dagmar Grenz notes the "remarkable fact" that at the very beginning of children's literature, books for girls often were the site of innovation. "Am Anfang der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur steht also die merkwürdige Erscheinung, daß die Mädchenliteratur der allerersten Phase innovatorischen Charakter für die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur insgesamt hatte." Grenz, 31.

[94] Of course, magazines and weeklies aimed at a general audience or specifically at boys also contributed to gendering children's reading experiences (see following discussion of gender ideology in Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund*).

[95] Isabelle Havelange, "Des livres pour les demoiselles. XVIIe siècle-1ère moitié du XIXe siècle" (2003), cited in Nadine Bérenguier, *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 7.

Universal German Library (*Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*), so it is difficult to be sure precisely how many titles were circulated.[96] Though early texts such as *Für deutsche Mädchen* were clearly targeting older girls and young women, periodicals and other books for young girls became more common by the 1790s. Not only did more serial publications emerge for girls, but this era also saw an unprecedented amount of writing for and about women, including on their education and vocations.[97] In this final section of the chapter, I address some paradoxes of girls' reading, examine the use of "exemplary lives" as a pedagogic instrument, and offer four specific illustrations of gender dynamics in girls' periodicals.

The paradox(es) of girls' reading

Reading girls were surrounded by a set of ambiguities and contradictions in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. Here are a few that emerge from my analysis of Enlightenment youth periodicals. First: Stories and essays like those offered in these texts were used as a vehicle for gendered ideologies about the separation of spheres and women's essential nature as mothers and wives, governing girls' choices and teaching them how they should feel and behave. This was at times as literal as the question posed in *Der Mädchenfreund* (1789): "Should one walk with the toes or the heel first?"[98] And yet, the second half of the eighteenth century was also the historical moment in Europe when reading was becoming understood as something internal and subjective. As Habermas writes,

> The rest of the century reveled and felt at ease in a terrain of subjectivity barely known at its beginning. The relations between author, work, and public changed. They became intimate mutual relationships between

[96] Grenz (1981), 2-3.
[97] It is outside the scope of this research, but worth noting that the rise in girls' periodicals coincided with the rise of novels and widespread anxiety about girls' novel-reading. Samuel Richardson, author of the epistolary novels *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, was especially influential in the German book trade.
[98] "Soll man auf die Zehen oder auf die Fersen zuerst auftreten?" Christian Karl André, *Der Mädchenfreund* (1789), 96.

> privatized individuals who were psychologically interested in what was "human," in self-knowledge, and in empathy. [99]

The places and modes of reading grew more and more private, intimate, and even sometimes illicit. In this sense, literacy was not only an instrument of gendered socialization, but could be appropriated as a limited means of emancipation for exceptional individuals.[100] Thus the odd marker of eighteenth-century children's books: one of the common characteristics of a bad, disobedient child in fiction was *curiosity*;[101] at the same time, one of the key ways children were supposed to demonstrate filial obedience was through *learning*.

Second: Girls' reading in the years around 1800 was also shaped by the central paradox of liberal feminism. Some scholars have pointed to the role of writing in women's lives for asserting an autonomous self, contradicting everything the Enlightenment had to say about the limitations of women's individuality and agency.[102] As Joan Scott has elucidated, however, while feminism sought to efface differences between the sexes in politics, it was forced to articulate goals in terms of that very same sexual difference.[103] The limits of expanding girls' education were exemplified by pedagogue Joachim Campe's unease on the subject. Campe did not intend to extend radical Enlightenment notions of choice and the individual fully to girls, and his work was thus "characterized by different contradictory

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[99] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991 [orig. 1962]), 50.

[100] Among this group, for example, were the girls who grew up to successful careers as authors of women's fiction themselves (e.g. Sophie von la Roche, Amalia Schoppe, and Luise Hölder).

[101] One of many examples was the piece "The Consequences of Criminal Curiosity (A Story as Warning)" in Johannes Holtz's *Gemüthliche Erzählungen und Geschichten zur Veredlung des jugendlichen Herzens für gesittete Maedchen von 9-12 Jahren* (*Homey Tales and Stories for the Improvement of the Youthful Heart fir Well-Mannered Girls of 9-12 Years*, 1821).

[102] Some of the contours of this debate may be seen in Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988); Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

[103] Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 2-5.

tendencies, according to Dagmar Grenz.[104] Works like his *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter* (Fatherly Advice for my Daughter)—incidentally, published the year of the French Revolution—contributed to an educational context in which unprecedented attention was being paid to girls' learning. But it was for the very constrained purpose of training wives and mothers.

Third: I argue that it is not simply that girls had no access to the masculine, liberal individual selfhood and education of the European Enlightenment. But the individual most pedagogues wanted to cultivate in a girl was a compassionate, devoted, *selfless* person directed toward serving others. Both boys and girls were taught to be sensitive and devoted to their families, but the ideal female vocation required disregarding individual personalities and desires—the selfless self.

Fourth: Bourgeois girls and boys were all subject to "the pedagogic double ideal" that Gunilla Budde and others have identified.[105] The reimagination of childhood as a separate stage of life and concern for the child's individual spirit led to a contradiction in which youth should be cultivated to be natural and instructed to be self-controlled. Girls, especially as young children, were supposed to be authentic and unaffected, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures of a protected childhood. But at the same time, it was the purpose of education (and reading) to raise bourgeois subjects who would be socially useful. As with Christmas toys and family letter-writing, pedagogues tried to resolve this dual mission by investing in the entertainment value of their moral tales such as those featured in girls'

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[104] "...ist gekennzeichnet von verschiedenen widersprüchlichen Tendenzen, in denen sich die Umbruchsituation der letzten Jahrzehnte vor der Jahrhundertwende widerspiegelt. Ausgangspunkt ist die Ausdehnung der Menschenrechte auch auf die Frau; dieser radikal-aufklärerische Standpunkt wird von Campe jedoch (wie überhaupt in seinem Gesamtwerk) nicht konsequent zu Ende gedacht." Grenz (1981), 64.

[105] Gunilla Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 78; David Hamlin, "The Structures of Toy Consumption: Bourgeois Domesticity and Demand for Toys in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 859; Willemijn Ruberg, "Children's Correspondence as a Pedagogical Tool in the Netherlands (1770-1850)," *Pedagogica Historica* 41, no. 3 (2005): 297.

periodicals. Authors like Leprince de Beaumont wanted their child readers to be inspired by model tales and entertaining stories to choose to behave. In the foreword to the *Magasin des enfans*, she writes:

> We tell children over and over: nothing is more naughty than lying, than getting angry, than being gluttonous, disobedient. Who would not believe that these vices are very rare in the world, given the care that we give to defending against them in children?[106] They should have a horror of these faults, and they actually would have, if instead of inserting the maxims that we have prattled on about on this subject in their memory, we had penetrated their reason. All our faults come from two sources, either from the error of our ideas, or from a lack of conviction, and these two sources of our troubles have their origin in our education.[107]

It was crucial for the authors of this new genre that moral choices not be enforced didactically from above but instead freely arrived at by independent, educated children.

Fifth: Reading—especially by girls—was simultaneously promoted as a setting for moral teachings and feared as a potential threat.[108] Reading was a powerful pedagogic tool, to be sure. But it was therefore potentially equally powerful as a seductive source of undesirable behavior.[109] In the relationships among author, text, and reader, what authority might be lost? Though this is something philosophers, theologians, and political leaders have worried about across historical settings, girls' reading seemed especially dangerous to some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentators. As Bérenguier writes about French conduct book authors, "their choices revealed how much they had internalized the widespread doubts surrounding the use of print for a young female audience."[110] Girl

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[106] By the way, this is an excellent caution by Leprince to future historians not to make too much of prescriptive literature!

[107] "On répète continuellement aux enfans; rien n'est plus vilain que de mentir, de se mettre en colère, d'être gourmand, désobéissant. Qui ne croiroit que ces vices sont très rares dans le Monde, eu égard aux soins qu'on se donne pour en éloigner les enfans? Ils devroient les avoir en horreur, & ils les auroient effectivement, si, au lieu de faire entrer les maximes, qu'on leur a débités à ce sujet dans leur mémoire, on les avoit fait pénétrer jusqu'a leur raison. Toutes nos fautes viennent de deux sources, ou de la fausseté de nos idées, ou du défaut de conviction, & des deux sources de nos malheurs, ont leur origine dans notre éducation." Leprince (1756), vi-vii.

[108] See discussion above on the dangers of reading for both girls and boys.

[109] See Belinda Jack, *The Woman Reader* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

[110] Bérenguier, 37.

readers of *Für Deutschlands edle Töchter* were cautioned against the growing dangers of "indiscriminate and superficial" reading:

> These days reading belongs to the fashionable pleasures of the fair sex; but, just as fashion changes clothes from year to year, so does the fashion of books change for these [readers]....Females should only read a little, and only a little at one time.[111]

At the same time, the editor suggested that reading *this* periodical would guard against the over-cultivation or corruption of other books. Crucial to understanding the emergence of the active child reader is observing that the danger came not only because of the unsuitable or radical content girls might encounter through reading, but something deeper about the practice. As girls began reading independently and silently, the adults around them worried that their relationship with the written word was itself damaging.

Thus, the development of gendered ideologies in children's literature had to do not only with prescriptive norms for the differentiated socialization of girls and boys, but also the mysterious possibilities offered by the dialectics of girls' reading. In this context, Enlightenment youth periodicals offered and contested answers to some of the following questions: What should be the most important affective relationship in a young woman's life —female friendship, sibling love, or motherhood and marriage? Were amusement, novelty, humor, and romance mere vehicles for moralizing didacticism, or did this truly belong to a new breed of entertaining fiction? If girls must be cultivated as readers, could they be figured as rational, thinking individuals of the Enlightenment, and if not, what were the limitations on that autonomy?

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[111] "Lesen gehört heutiges Tages mit zu den Modebelustigungen des schönen Geschlechts; aber, so wie die Mode von Jahr zu Jahr die Kleidertrachten ändert, so macht sie es auch mit den Büchern bei diesen....Aber, so wie die vielen Speisen bei der Tafel den Magen vererben, eben so schädlich für Geist und Herz ist auch das gemischte und oberflächliche Lesen, welches von Tag zu Tag gemeiner wird....Sie würden als denn freilich weniger durch Witz glänzen, sich weniger durch Anekdoten und Bonmots hervorthun können, auch nicht zu sagen wissen, wie man gegenwärtig in London und Paris die Schue trägt,—desto besser aber für sie und ihre Familien." *Für Deutschlands edle Töchter*, ii-iv.

Exemplary lives as pedagogic instrument

Portraits of exemplary lives constituted one of the most common strategies in books written for girls, especially before the mid-nineteenth century. Stories of heroic women were told as models to edify and entertain youth. Notably, however, "true histories" of remarkable women from the past, such as political leaders and religious figures, were largely confined to textbooks and biographical galleries intended for use in the schoolroom.[112] Texts designed to amuse, like these periodicals, did rely on tales of individuals, but such vignettes generally portrayed fictional paragons of virtue or vice.

In periodicals, the individual women whose biographies were held up as models generally fell into one of three categories: a few Greek and Roman myths, princesses and other young nobility, and fictional characters not so distant from the readers whose merits or flaws were presented as ideal or cautionary. This last type was the most common, and is well illustrated by the story "A Little Girl Shows Great Courage" from a 1779 volume of the *Neujahrsgeschenk für Kinder*:

> "A Little Girl Shows Great Courage." Not many years ago, a ship heavily laden with people and goods crashed not far from Regensburg.– A little sailor girl risked it, and sailed with a little skiff out into the water. So many unfortunates hung onto the skiff that it capsized. But the charitable little heroine was undeterred. She swam from the shore, fetched a bigger boat, and alone saved some twenty people."[113]

At the same time that her heroic action was signaled as extraordinary, the newspaper-style reporting on this anonymous girl also marked her as an ordinary person with whom the

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[112] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the use of the exemplary lives genre in world history schoolbooks.
[113] "Ein kleines Mädchen zeigt grossen Muth." Nicht weit von Regensburg verunglückte, in einem der letzten Jahre, ein mit Menschen und Gütern schwer beladenes Schif.– Ein kleines Schiffermädchen wagt's, und fuhr mit einem kleinen Rahn ins Wasser. Die Unglücklichen hiengen sich so häufig an den Rahn, daß er umschlug. Die kleine menschenfreundliche Heldinn aber ließ sich nicht abschrecken. Sie schwamm aus Ufer, holte einen grössern Rahn, und rettete allein etliche zwanzig Personen." *Neujahrsgeschenk für Kinder von einem Kinderfreunde* II (1779): 78.

active reader should form a relationship. The story is told to a different purpose than the older-style awe-inspiring tales of Greek goddesses or imperious queens.

With amusement-oriented publishing for children steadily on the rise, the model of fictional biographies found in these periodicals came to represent the primary way children read about exemplary women by the middle of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, in textbook publishing over the course of this period, though ancient and medieval heroines such as Dido or Joan of Arc were still included, biographies of contemporary female figures, for example, from the French Revolution, did not appear. Heroic women were gradually relegated to the distant past. At the same time, more realistic depictions of ordinary children came to figure more prominently in material intended to guide girls' reading education. A content-based interpretation of these changes would either read this development as a loss for girl readers, that exemplary women were no longer elevated, or as a benefit for child readers, that ordinary lives were presented for the sake of relevancy. But more importantly for this study, the fact that children's time with texts was gradually spent much more with these fictional stories of ordinary people than it was with historic heroes is further evidence that children played a part in creating their own literary ecosystem. Assuming that children had at least a degree more control over their amusement reading than the textbooks they were handed, this development demonstrates the active child reader's impact on the spread of entertaining fictional tales over grand histories.

The construction of gendered subjectivity: four illustrations

First, here are two moments from Leprince's *Magasin des enfans* which explicitly identify characteristics of the ideal girl reader. As Matthew Grenby writes about the British context, "authors, illustrators and publishers of children's books strove extremely hard to

provide texts in which the child reader could recognise him or herself."[114] A heavy-handed example may be seen in Leprince's periodical as two characters discussed their dolls and trinkets:

> Lady Spiritual: It has been more than six months since I threw all these things in the fire: I begged Papa to give me all the money that he spent on these bagatelles so that I could buy books and pay all kinds of teachers.
>
> Lady Babiole: I am not of your taste: if I were the mistress, in place of giving two guineas a month to my geography teacher, I would have the most beautiful things in the world brought from Paris; this would amuse me very much, instead of this man boring me to death; when I see him, I cannot stop yawning at every moment: he tells Mama, she scolds me, and that makes me hate the teacher and geography even more.
>
> Lady Spiritual: Do you not like reading stories?
>
> Lady Babiole: No, honestly, my dear; still, it is necessary that I read, because Papa wants it: but when I am grown up; and can do what I want, I assure you that I will never read.[115]

Leprince clearly hopes to inspire in girls a personal desire for books and learning. The moral guide for real child readers was clearly marked, but it is striking that even the sanctimonious Spiritual was shown to be making her own choices about her time, education, money, and consumption.

The threat of frivolous female consumption recurred throughout the *Magasin des enfans*, as well as in many other European conduct books and literature for girls from this period. Another striking example in Leprince's magazine came in a metaphor about a frivolous young bride who spends all her time only looking out the window at passing

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[114] Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 21.

[115] "Lady Spirituelle. 'Il y a plus de six mois que j'ai jeté toutes ces choses dans le feu: j'ai prié papa de me donner tout l'argent qu'il employait à ces bagatelles, pour acheter des livres, et payer toutes sortez de maîtres.' Lady Babiole. 'Je ne suis point de votre goût: si j'étais la maîtresse, au lieu de donner deux guinées par mois à mon maître de géographie, je ferais venir de Paris les plus jolies choses du monde; cela m'amuserait beaucoup, au lieu que cet homme m'ennuie à la mort; quand je le vois, je ne puis m'empêcher de bâiller à tous momens: il le dit à maman, on me gronde, et cela fait que je hais encore davantage le maître et la géographie.' Lady Spirituelle. 'Vous n'aimez donc pas à lire des histoire?' Lady Babiole. 'Non, en vérité; ma chère; il faut cependant que je lise, car papa le veut: mais quand je serai grande; et que je pourrai faire ce que je voudrai, je vous assure que je ne lirai jamais.'" Beaumont, *Magasin des enfants* (Montbéliard: Deckherr, 1756), 22.

carriages and can't even describe her own surroundings. Leprince told her youth readers that self-knowledge (or rather, its absence) is like this foolish young woman:

> Our soul spends its life at the window, that is, it only deals with things that strike the senses, and it ignores absolutely that which is within itself, in its own home.... This fault is especially that of the fair sex, and it is not possible to imagine what it costs me to eradicate it. What stratagems to excite the curiosity to know oneself![116]

In addition to depending on assumptions about consumption based on gender and youth, this analogy articulated an interesting link between interiority and moral education.

Second, an obvious instance of gendered ideologies in Weiße's popular *Der Kinderfreund* (written for an intended audience of girls and boys) came in the character portraits Weiße offered of his fictional frame family. In the eighteenth century, as Nancy Armstrong has told us, "As gender came to mark the most important difference among individuals, men were still men and women still women, of course, but the difference between male and female was understood in terms of their respective qualities of mind."[117] Weiße's introduction of Charlotte (11), Karl (9), Fritz (7 and a half), and Luischen (5) taught their real-world counterparts that this started in childhood.

Charlotte was presented as a little frivolous and flighty (female flaws), but Weiße also asserted that she had the capacity for serious learning, and even referred to her as a potential "Meisterinn" (mistress) of her books.[118] Also, Charlotte did clearly hold some authority over her brothers as the oldest child. Karl was the "opposite" of his sister because he was intellectual and serious, and "industrious beyond his years."[119] The subjects associated with this great learning were particularly masculine: world history, natural history, geography, and

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[116] "Notre ame passe sa vie à la fenêtre, c'est à dire, qu'elle ne s'occupe que des choses qui frapent ses sens, & qu'elle ignore absolument ce qui est au dedans d'elle-même, dans sa propre maison....Ce défaut est surtout, celui des personnes du séxe, & il n'est pas possible d'imaginer ce qu'il m'en coûte pour l'extirper. Que de stratagèmes pour exiter la curiosité de se connoître soi-même!" Leprince (1756), viii.
[117] Armstrong (1987), 4.
[118] Weiße, 9.
[119] "Er hat mehr Verstand, als Witz, und einen Fleiß, der beynahe über seine Jahre ist." Weiße, 9-10.

the classics. But he also had a soft heart and was often brought to tears, a manly trait for the sentimental side of the German Enlightenment. His faults were pride and the inability to take a joke from his teasing siblings.

Fritz, just like his sister, was described as hyperactive, though his hyperactivity was more physical than Charlotte's mental fickleness. In contrast to his older brother's bookishness, Fritz was clearly training himself for a more practical business career, interested as he was in mechanical things, travelogues, and drawing houses. His faults were the wrong kind of cleverness—for example, he was always able to find the biggest piece of cake and persuade his siblings that he suffered with the smallest slice. He was much too concerned with making deals: It would be fine if he grew up to be a good business man, as long as he also developed a generous heart.[120] Finally, Luischen was too young for most of her individual character to have emerged, according to Weiße. But she was described as having a good memory for stories and picture books—note that again, her primary characteristic has to do with literacy.[121] Her flaw was vanity (she always wanted people to notice her new shoes).

Beyond these amusing little portraits, the crucial point for my purposes is that the primary behavior which marks a flighty bad girl or a serious good boy is how the child treated books. Charlotte flitted from subject to subject, while Karl never started a book without finishing it. While their flaws were more starkly gendered (flightiness and vanity for

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[120] "Dabei ist er verschlagen, eigennützig, und voller kleinen Ränke. Wann ein Stücke Kuchen unter ihm und seinen Geschwistern verteilet wird, so weiß er es so zu spielen, daß er immer das größte bekömmt, und sucht die übrigen mit aller Beredsamkeit zu überreden, daß er das kleinste habe. ... auch ist er sehr dienstfertig, höflich und einschmeichelnd. Mich sollte wundern, wenn er nicht einmal ein Kaufmann werden wollte: sehr gut, wenn er sein Herz zur Rechtschaffenheit und Großmut lenken läßt." Weiße, 12-13.

[121] "Die kleinen Geschichten, die sie höret, weiß sie auf den Nagel her zu erzählen, und man kann ihr in einem Bilderbuchs funfzigerley Dinge mit Namen nennen: sie wiederholet sie ohne sich zu verirren: sie ist sehr glücklich in Auflösung der Rätsel und Errathung der Sprüchwörter, gibt oft solche witzige Antworten, daß man darauf schwören sollte, sie wären ihr von jemand anders eingegeben worden: sie macht kleine Erdichtungen aus dem Stegreif, und ist so ein dreustes kleines Ding, daß es ihr gleich viel gilt, ob ein König oder ein Bauer mit ihr spricht." Weiße, 13.

the girls vs. stubbornness and scheming for the boys), it seems that at this age the girls were actually not significantly limited in terms of education. They, like their brothers, should demonstrate virtue through reading and share their stories. The difference is that they were being educated for a different purpose. If Charlotte could conquer her faults, she would be "a very lovely person" with all the benefits of mind and body which God has given her.[122] But if Karl could conquer his faults, he would become a virtuous and learned man, one useful to the world.[123]

The third illustration comes from the short-lived but influential weekly *Für deutsche Mädchen*. This magazine, from Paul Nitsch, neatly illustrates the style and goals of typical girls' periodicals at the end of the eighteenth century. The combination of stories, poems, and essays aimed to teach girls how to behave in certain situations, such as how to choose a husband (the answer? for love, but someone you love who also happens to be invited to your parents' house). But an equal goal was to cultivate the right emotions in girls, to find them loving, compassionate, dedicated to parents and siblings, and, indeed, selfless. One example of both objectives is an essay cum dialogue titled "The Girl among Youths" from the ninth issue (orig. June 2, 1781). The speakers have a very long conversation about how to choose the right husband, including what qualities to avoid. This section could easily have been read transgressively, for the pleasure of hearing about dangerous, worldly men. The voice of wisdom in the piece takes the seemingly liberal position that girls should be encouraged to spend time with young men, rather than to imagine a vast gulf between them. But along the way, Nitsch asserts a variety of reductive ideas about girls' foolishness, delicacy, and vanity. What interests me most about this item is that even though it depicts sites of sociability, it

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[122] "eine sehr liebenswürdige Person... Erhält ihn Gott auf diesem Wege, so wird er gewiß ein tugendhafter, gelehrter, und für die Welt sehr brauchbarer Mann worden." (Weiße, 11).

[123] And in fact, in Weiße's sequel publication (*Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes*, 1792), we learn that in the interim Karl went away for secondary school and is living in the house of one of his teachers, while Fritz has been sent to apprentice to a tradesman in Berlin.

also advances reading (and specifically, reading fiction and periodicals) as a desirable source of information for girls about the all-important marriage question.

Finally, I return to Antonia Wutka's *Encyklopädie für die weibliche Jugend*, which began with a preface that offered a familiar invocation of future motherhood as a reason to educate girls. The author was remarkable as a woman positioning herself in the pedagogical debates of the Enlightenment, and historians might examine the 44-page foreword as an intellectual history of education. While both the *Encylopädie* and *Für Deutschlands edle Töchter* started from the position of girl as essentialized future mother, the latter book used this rhetoric to constrict women's intellectual opportunities, writing that

> most scientific concepts are expendable for [women]. Their purpose is in the domestic sphere...They should gather ideas [on this subject] that will refine their characters through the principles of sound morality...learn to manage their children (and perhaps even their husbands) through knowledge of humanity.[124]

By contrast, Wutka used this as a critique of Enlightenment philosophy and pedagogy that excluded women, in which "one half of humankind, my sex, is only occasionally included as an afterthought, but never attended to as the principal thing; and—therein lies the error!—oh! the woman's, the mother's responsibilities continue infinitely!"[125]

But another way into this text is through its first scene, written in dialogue. Emilie, twelve years old, burst into the room to find her friend Friderike, also twelve, in dramatic distress. Friderike said that she didn't want to read anymore or study anymore; she wanted to throw all her books and maps into the fire, and, if it were possible, her schoolmaster, too. Friderike has overheard two men describing her as a "plague of society," who should be left

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[124] "...eine Menge wissentschaftlicher Begriffe sind für sie so entbehrliche Dinge....ihre Bestimmung ist der häusliche Zirkel...Hierüber sollten sie sich Ideen sammeln, ihren Karakter durch die Grundsätze einer gesunden Moral veredeln, ihren Geist durch Geschichtsbegebenheiten bilden, ihre Kinder (auch wohl ihre Gatten) durch Kenntniß des Menschen leiten lernen..." *Für Deutschlands edle Töchter* 1801: ii-iv.

[125] "...nur die eine Hälfte des Menschengeschlechts, mein Geschlecht, ist gelegentlich als Nebensache mit eingeschlossen, aber nie als Hauptsache behandelt worden; und—da lieft der Fehler!—Ach! des Weibes, der Mutter Pflichten gehen in's Unendliche!" Wutka, 1802: iii.

uneducated. Emilie's solution was to form a schooling society ("Unterrichtsgesellschaft") with several of their other young friends and Emilie's "teacher, friend, and, dear second mother," Auguste, as their leader.[126] The rest of the volume portrayed their lessons: reading aloud to each other from Bible stories and classical myths and asking questions of their teacher.

The religious moralizing and cultivation of separate spheres that constituted their lessons was not so radical. But the story itself, which was peopled with bright, lively characters and unfolded with small moments of drama, may have offered contradictory opportunities to its young readership in the late Enlightenment. In its rejection of the unnamed men's judgment, this story, ideal for reading aloud or acting out, suggests the importance of girls' own choices and community formation. Similarly, Wutka deployed maternalism to somewhat different purposes than other contemporary promotions of woman as mother. I suggest that despite the didactic nature of most publishing for girls during this period, such contradictions and ambivalences about girls' learning mattered to the reading experience of the target audience and the kinds of subjectivities which might emerge from literacy practices.

Gendered reading: conclusions

> What do [girls], some tell me, need to know about the difference between their souls and those of animals? They believe this truth and a thousand more on the word of other people: they are not made for knowing anything else. Some say to me, you purport to make them logicians and philosophes; I respond to them, and *you* would have them be happy as automatons. Yes, Misters Tied-Down, I intend to pull them from this base ignorance to which you have condemned them. Certainly, I intend to make them logicians,

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[126] "'Ich sagte dir vor einem halben Jahre, daß ich so viel läse, so viel lernte; aber, heute sage ich dir: ich will nichts mehr lesen, nichts mehr lernen; ich will alle meine Bücher und Landkarten in's Feuer werfen, und wenn es möglich wäre, meine Lehrmeister dazu.'" "'Ich, eine Pest der Gesellschaft! denke dir, Milchen! ist das nicht das Abscheulichste von der ganzen Welt?'" "'...meine Lehrerin, meine Freundin, meine zweite, und mehr als zweite liebe Mutter!" Wutka (1802), 4-9.

> geometers, and even philosophes. I want them to learn to think, to think rightly, in order to achieve a good life.[127]

How do we reconcile this fiery speech about the purpose of girls' education from Leprince de Beaumont with the content of her moralizing *Magasin des enfans*, which elsewhere indicated a future for girls as conventional middle-class wives and mothers? Such expressions were less common by the middle of the nineteenth century in periodicals like Thekla von Gumpert's *Töchter-Album*. The specialization and expansion of children's literature had many happy outcomes, but one cost for girls was that their early reading began to be more and more focused on their future domestic responsibilities.[128] I agree with Dagmar Grenz that the presentation of gendered norms in girls' books was more direct in the eighteenth century and more subtle (or insidious) in the nineteenth.[129] It is possible, though difficult to prove, that increased political censorship in German print culture at large in the 1790s may have contributed to this foreclosure of the more radical promises of revolutionary-era girls' literature.[130] Nevertheless, there are continuities between the didactic moralizing of Enlightenment periodicals and gender ideologies in children's literature today.

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[127] "Qu'ont elles besoin, me diront-ils, de connaître la différence de leurs ames, d'avec celles des animaux? Elles croient cette vérité & mille autres sur la foi d'autrui: elles ne sont pas faites pour en savoir davantage. On dirait que vous prétendez en faire des Logiciennes, des philosophes; & vous en feriez volontiers des automates, leur répondrai-je. Oui, Messrs. les tirants, j'ai dessein de les tirer de cette ignorance basse, à laquelle vous les avez condamnées. Certainement, j'ai dessein d'en faire des logicienne, des géométres & même des philosophes. Je veux leur apprendre à penser, à penser juste, pour parvenir à bien vivre." Leprince (1756), xiv-xv.

[128] Grenz finds a similar pattern in the texts she studies, with earlier Enlightenment books providing a rational education for girls that emphasized the same virtues as for boys. "In ihrem Mittelpunkt steht die allgemeine Tugend- und Vernunfterziehung des Mädchens, der Anspruch, dem Mädchen eine dem Knaben vergleichbare Erziehung zukommen zu lassen. Die Erziehung des Mädchens zu ihren zukünftigen Pflichten als verheiratete Frau spielt dagegen eine relativ geringe Rolle. Dieses noch der Frühaufklärung verpflichtete Konzept einer — man könnte sagen, kompensatorischen Erziehung für Mädchen, das von einer (partiellen) Gleichheit von Mann und Frau ausgeht..." Grenz (1981), 31.

[129] "Während das 18. Jahrhundert sich offen zu den Normen bekennt, nach denen das Mädchen erzogen werden soll, und diese in der Mädchenliteratur auf eine für den heutigen Leser erfrischende Weise direkt benannt werden, werden diese im 19. Jahrhundert immer indirekter und schließlich—etwa seit der Phase, die mit dem *Trotzkopf* beginnt—nur noch unterschwellig vermittelt. Inhaltlich bleiben die vermittelten Normen jedoch trotz des historischen Wandels, den sie durchmachen, immer noch sehr stark dem Zeitraum verpflichtet, in dem sie entstanden sind—nämlich dem 18. Jahrhundert, in dem sich die bürgerliche Kleinfamilie und die aus ihr entwickelte 'weibliche Bestimmung' herausbildet." Grenz (1981), 3-4.

[130] Selwyn, 38-39.

Understanding that girls' and boys' reading practices were scripted by gender is necessary for reconstructing those experiences. But beyond giving us a fuller picture of how these texts worked, a gender analysis of Enlightenment youth periodicals also supports my arguments about children's reading practices more generally. That pedagogues sought to craft a gendered subjectivity in young people through these periodicals demonstrates the growing relevance and utility of reading education during this period of changing gender ideology and restructuring of middle-class family life. Furthermore, the dialectics of girls' reading are bound up with the cultivation of a particular kind of new youth reader by pedagogues on one hand (as well as anxiety about the wrong kind of reading) and with those actual readers' negotiation of the process in unpredictable ways on the other hand.

Conclusion

Although the titles analyzed here are no longer widely read in the twenty-first century, Enlightenment youth periodicals have enjoyed a lasting legacy through their influence on golden age children's books that have become canonical. This was either through imitation of the key principles around children's reading with which periodicals were experimenting, or through parody, as in texts like *Struwwelpeter* (1845), which mocked the model child mode of storytelling. Furthermore, these early texts shaped children's literature through their cultivation of the active child reader. Through transactional forms like the use of illustrations and forewords addressed to child readers, this new genre promoted a new kind of child subject. Authors invested significant effort in imagining a class and age-specific audience, as well as in establishing gendered expectations for readers. They were profoundly concerned with how an individual child reader would use these texts.

Did children have an Enlightenment?[131] Could they be autonomous reading selves? The unsatisfying answer seems to be "sometimes." In reality, the reading of periodicals must have been highly mediated and supervised. Simply to gain access to these magazines, children needed parents and teachers. But the tension between this fact and developing ideas about independent reading gave children an opening. In order to deal with the pedagogic double ideal in which they had caught themselves, periodical creators worked to make reading more attractive to children, so that young readers would come willingly to their Enlightened education. Leprince, Weiße, Nitsch, Wutka, and others presented essays, fables, and bible stories as a vehicle to moral action, not intentionally to stimulate the imagination. But nevertheless, that emphasis on capturing young readers' attention through amusement

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[131] This formulation is borrowed from Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 137-164.

likely had unintended consequences. Just as agency and discipline are mutually constituted, these periodicals reveal a productive tension between learning and fun. This relationship of pleasure with pedagogy is central to the next chapter, which ventures into the genre of fairy tales.

CHAPTER 3
Telling Tales: Class and the Transformation of Folklore

One day in the autumn of 1858, a little girl sitting at home in Berlin opened a book of fairy tales. Her eyes fell on one, the story of "The Clever Little Tailor," who wins a princess through his irrepressible confidence and some cunning sleight-of-hand. The little girl enjoyed reading this fairy tale, but she was fairly sure that was all it was: an invention of the author's imagination, not an account of real events. And so, when she came to the final line, "And whoever does not believe me must pay me a Thaler," she looked up in surprise. But could she really believe a bear that talked and danced, and ran away in fright when the simpleton tailor pretended his legs were a vise? Let alone a princess who would deign to marry a tailor? No, she decided, she certainly could not.

. . . Or so might one child's reading experience have unfolded. Most details of this scene are my own speculation, since the historical record generally leaves few traces of the direct encounters between children and texts. In this case, however, we do know that whatever happened to this anonymous reader as she absorbed this particular fairy tale, it led to a meeting with Wilhelm Grimm that he recorded. As Grimm noted, this story had already circulated in the German papers before he put pen to paper in a letter to Anna von Arnswaldt on March 2, 1859.[1] First, some context: in these years, the Grimm brothers lived

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[1] Wilhelm Grimm to Anna von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859, in *Freundesbriefe von Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm*, ed. Alexander Reifferschied (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1878), 188-90. The first recorded version of the story likely appeared sometime in 1858 in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a major daily newspaper. This version was retold in a weekly periodical edited by Gustav Kühne, *Europe: Chronicle of the Civilized World*. "Wer's nicht glaubt, bezahlt einen Thaler!" *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* no. 4, 22 January 1859, 140. The account from Wilhelm Grimm's letter, not the newspaper version, seems to have served as source material for most later references to the "Märchengroschen" story, which appeared occasionally in later texts such as Mary Mapes Dodge, ed., *St. Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys* II, no. 3 (January 1875): 195 (a US children's periodical that retold the story of "Little Truthful" with sentimental embellishments) or Robert Petsch, *Formelhafte Schlüsse im Volksmärchen* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1900), 66 (who quotes Grimm's "lovely, true" story in passing during an analysis of similar formulaic folktale endings around the world).

together with Wilhelm's wife Dorothea and their children in Berlin, where Jacob held a position at the University of Berlin. They had already published the final edition of their collection, *Children's and Household Tales* (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, hereafter *KHM*), and become well-known for that work as well as their other scholarly and political activities. "The Clever Little Tailor" ("Vom klugen Schneiderlein," 114) had been part of the *KHM* since 1815 (first edition).[2] In their annotations, the Grimms cited the tale's origin in the Schwalm district of Hesse, the German state where the Grimms were born and attended school.[3] The closing line, "Wers nicht glaubt, bezahlt einen Thaler," was part of the Grimms' version from its first publication; such features that evoked the oral, folk origins of fairy tales were preferred by the Grimms and sometimes invented and added to make stories more stylistically elaborate.

It was this tale Wilhelm Grimm had in mind when he wrote to von Arnswaldt to relate an encounter the brothers had just had with a particular reader of their collection.[4] One day, "a pretty child with beautiful eyes," as he described her, showed up at their home.[5] Carrying the *KHM* with her, she first read aloud from it to Wilhelm (or Jacob, according to

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[2] By scholarly convention, I will use the numbers from the 1857 edition of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* when referring to individual tales. I have chosen to use my own translations in this chapter in order to compare key language across multiple editions. However, readers may find it useful to refer to the currently definitive English-language translations: for the 1857 edition, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Jack Zipes, 3rd ed. (New York: Bantam Books, 2003); for the 1812/15 edition, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: The Complete First Edition*, trans. and ed. Jack Zipes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[3] Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmärchen, dritter Band: Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Märchen*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (1856; repr. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1980), 207. (This volume referred to hereafter as *KHM Anmerkungen* 1856.)

[4] Arnswaldt, née Haxthausen (1801-1877), had been one of the Grimms' informants for the *KHM*, contributing "The Twelve Dancing Princesses" ("Die zertanzten Schuhe," 133), among other tales. See "Introduction to Anna von Haxthausen, 'The Rescued Princess'" in *The Queen's Mirror: Fairy Tales by German Women, 1780-1900*, ed. Shawn Jarvis and Jeannine Blackwell (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 127-31.

[5] "Es war ein feines Kind mit schönen Augen." Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859.

the newspaper version).[6] When she had finished the last line of "The Clever Little Tailor," she informed Grimm that because she did not believe the tale, she needed to pay but could not cover the entire sum. Instead, she gave him a Groschen (one-thirtieth of a Thaler) and promised to pay the rest later. According to Grimm's letter, at that point he offered to return the money, but she refused, instructing him, "'Mama says one should not accept money as a gift.'"[7] Then she left (or, according to the newspaper version, the Grimms made sure that she made it safely home).

Just like fairy tales themselves, the various versions of this "Märchengroschen" story invite any number of readings.[8] My purpose in highlighting it here is to demonstrate how this girl embodies the emergence of the active child reader, in three respects. First, she does so directly, by reading aloud from (seemingly) her own book, "well and with natural expression," as Grimm admiringly wrote.[9] Simply by consuming the *KHM*, she was participating in the development of children's literature. Thus this encounter furnishes an elusive illustration of the transactional reading that had become so important to children's literacy education over the first half of the nineteenth century. The girl was both engaged with her reading independently enough to reject it in part, and yet humorously obedient to the text (mirrored in Grimm's description of her "polite" manner).[10] Or put another way,

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[6] "She was first with Jacob, then Dortchen [Wilhelm's wife] brought her to me." "Es war erst bei dem Jacob, dann brachte es Dortchen zu mir." Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859. By comparison, the newspaper account is "a sweet anecdote which Jacob Grimm recently experienced, and whose informant is the worthy scholar himself." "eine hübsche Anekdote, die vor kurzem Jacob Grimm erlebt hat, und deren Gewährsmann der würdige Gelehrte selbst ist." *Europa* (22 January 1859), 140.

[7] "'die Mama sagt, Geld dürfe man nicht geschenkt nehmen.'" Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859.

[8] Ruth Bottigheimer mentions the "Märchengroschen" story in passing as an exception to the general paucity of direct evidence concerning children's reception of fairy tales. Bottigheimer, "The Publishing History of Grimms' Tales: Reception at the Cash Register," in *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales*, ed. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 79. Ruth Michaelis-Jena also describes the encounter in her biography of the Grimm brothers, but I have not yet found an extensive analysis of the story. Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 156.

[9] "gut und mit natürlichem Ausdruck." Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859.

[10] "nahm es artig den Abschied." Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859.

because she doesn't buy the story, she pays for it. Indeed, the fact that Wilhelm Grimm so clearly found this girl and the story charming is part of the transformation of childhood ideologies, including growing adult interest in the interior workings of children's minds.

But in a second respect, this exchange is useful to understanding children's changing literacy practices precisely because a closer examination reveals the challenges of evidence in this study. Mediated as it was by Wilhelm Grimm, newspaper editors, and narrative conventions, what does this story really tell us about the girl herself? Grimm anticipated doubts about the entire account, telling von Arnswaldt, "One might believe it is invented, but it is true."[11] As with most fairy tale characters, the child's name is unknown. The suggestion in my opening rendition that she lived in Berlin when she read the *KHM* is only a likely guess. Had she read the tale before, and would she read the book over again? Was she alone while reading or in the company of adults or other children? We cannot be certain that she enjoyed the fairy tale.[12] The different versions highlight the opacity of her actual reading practices and response, even to the critical point of what caused her to doubt the tale's truth. While Grimm says only that she disbelieved the whole tale, in the newspapers she was quoted as saying, "I do not believe the story because a tailor will never marry a princess."[13]

Variations in the accounts of the Märchengroschen bring me to the third key way in which this young reader illustrates the emergence of a new child subjectivity: through social class. Although Grimm only described her physical appearance to von Arnswaldt, the newspaper versions made a point of identifying her as "a little girl belonging to the upper classes."[14] More tellingly, her literacy and cash both attest that she belonged to the elite,

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[11] "Man glaubt sie sei erfunden, sie ist aber wahr." Grimm to von Arnswaldt, Berlin, 2 March 1859.
[12] However, the newspaper version does report that she described the *KHM* as "the beautiful fairy tales": "Bist Du es, der die schönen Märchen geschrieben?" *Europa* (22 January 1859), 140.
[13] "Nun, die Geschichte glaube ich nicht, denn ein Schneider wird nimmer eine Prinzessin heirathen." *Europa* (22 January 1859), 140.
[14] "ein kleines Mädchen, den höheren Ständen angehörig..." *Europa* (22 January 1859), 140.

educated child audience the Grimms sought to cultivate through shaping the *KHM* over the previous five decades. Despite explaining that she received "not much pocket money" (hence lacking the Thaler), she did possess her own coin purse and a concept of debt—promising to pay off this "skepticism penalty" in stages. And even though she reportedly came to the Grimms' house alone, her financial mores had clearly been shaped within her family ("Mama says..."). By the end of the period traced in this dissertation, the *KHM* had remade an adult oral tradition into a book for young audiences and was dominating the fairy tale market. It was produced with an explicit class-based vision for a newly defined group of children with pocket money and serious reading responsibilities. As Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann states, "The bourgeois century, in whose Biedermeier family world the child now also came into his own right, yielded fruitful ground for the Märchen world of the Grimm brothers. The victory march of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* could only succeed because the nurseries of bourgeois homes constituted a willing and enthusiastic circle of consumers."[15] The participation of middle-class German children was indispensable to the Grimms' publishing success.

While European historians have turned to fairy tales for evidence of cultural nationalism, the politics of gender and sexuality, historical linguistics, and various other historical questions, in this chapter I am primarily concerned with the family sociology children learned in fairy tales. Here, by "family sociology," I mean the apprehension of class cultures and family practices as they intersected: how parent-child relationships, marriage and sexuality, proper age and gender roles, and the emotional life of families were understood and marked across class boundaries. Mary Jo Maynes writes that "self-conscious familialism

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[15] "Das bürgerliche Säkulum, in dessen biedermeierlicher Familienwelt nun auch das *Kind* zu seinem eigenen Rechte kam, gab den fruchtbaren Boden ab für die Märchenwelt der Brüder Grimm. Der Siegeszug der Kinder- und Hausmärchen konnte nur erfolgen, weil die Kinderstuben der Bürgerhäuser den willigen und begeisterten Konsumentenkreis bildeten." Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, foreword to *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1976), 14.

was a central component of [middle-class] social and cultural identity"; this applied as well to the Grimms' project.[16] As fairy tales in general and the *KHM* in particular figured increasingly prominently in the active child reader's world, what lessons did that reader learn about family life and class distinctions? In addition to using fairy tales to show how the new child subject was constituted in terms of class cultures, I also consider the peculiar qualities of this literary-oral hybrid genre in the context of nineteenth-century children's changing literacy practices. Through this analysis, I argue that the cultivation of class-based subjectivities in fairy tales rewritten for a youth audience demonstrates the emergence of the active child reader.

Like periodicals, schoolbooks, and children's writing, fairy tales worked as a pedagogic instrument. But examining fairy tales brings to light particular aspects of children's socialization: the role of oral storytelling, the power of fantasy and imagination, the impact of popular publishing trends, and direct evidence of the emerging child reader through the conversion of an adult oral tradition to a literary genre specialized for young people. The Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* constitutes a particularly rich corpus of data for the history of children's reading, not merely because it later became one of the most influential collections of fairy tales in the Western world. Other fairy tale writers during the years around 1800 began to focus their attention on young audiences; the bourgeois child readers in my study encountered a diverse range of folktales from other sources. But the Grimms were especially self-conscious about the ways in which their scholarly project transformed into a pedagogic one over the course of the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, the popularity of their text has ensured the preservation of 17 separate

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[16] Mary Jo Maynes, "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life," in *The History of the European Family: Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 195.

editions published from 1812 to 1857 (seven of the main text, the *Große Ausgabe*, and ten of an abridged version, the *Kleine Ausgabe*). This, in addition to the reprinting of an 1810 manuscript of the *KHM* rediscovered at Ölenberg in the 1920s,[17] furnishes us with the means to examine precise changes in the fairy tales over time, and to investigate how the Grimms crafted their collection in response to changing didactic and aesthetic priorities.

Following this method of tracking the historical development of fairy tales within a social context, the chapter is divided into four sections. The first two serve as a brief introduction to fairy tales before and including the Grimms, as the genre emerged from both elite literary and popular oral traditions and was then transformed into children's literature; I also address key scholarly approaches to studying fairy tales. Turning to the evidence furnished by the *KHM*, the third section demonstrates the centrality of class and family to the Grimms' pedagogic concerns, exploring fairy tale perspectives on the class cultures of reproduction, parenting, gender, marriage, and filial obedience. Finally, the chapter closes with a coda offering reflections on children's use of fairy tales in practice.

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[17] Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2007). (This manuscript edition referred to hereafter as *KHM* 1810.)

Es war einmal: A Brief History of Fairy Tales

In this section, I contextualize my analysis of the child reader and the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* within a survey of the fairy tale's history. I first trace the long tradition of folklore and literary fairy tales before the Grimms that influenced the *KHM*. Moving into the Grimms' era, I show the omnipresence of fairy tales in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers' worlds. Finally, I introduce the Grimms and their collection, with an emphasis on how they reshaped the tales over the course of decades as their purpose shifted from scholarly to pedagogic.

Before the Grimms

While middle-class child readers constituted a critical new audience for fairy tales in early nineteenth-century Europe, these stories were by no means invented solely for their benefit. The fairy tale forms popularized by the Grimms and other writers grew from both a long literary history and an abundant oral tradition. For centuries, folklorists have worked to establish typologies and continue to debate the differences between oral folk tales (*Volksmärchen*), literary tales (*Kunstmärchen*), wonder tales (*Zaubermärchen*), fairy tales (whose most literal counterpart is the French *contes de fées*), legends, myths, fables, and other oral and literary relatives of these forms.[18] This many-colored nature of "the fairy tale" matters for the purposes of this dissertation insofar as we recognize that these stories encountered by German child readers emerged from, on the one hand, an oral tradition of the European peasantry without clearly discernible origins; and on the other hand, a literary tradition

[18] Also see the discussion of terms in Jack Zipes, "Introduction: Towards a Definition of the Literary Fairy Tale," in *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*, ed. Jack Zipes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xv-xxxii. The most useful typology of Western folklore still referenced by folklorists is the Aarne-Thompson Index (first developed by the Finnish scholar Antti Aarne in 1910 and later revised), in which tale types were assigned numbers according to their common motifs and features. For example, AT 451 ("The Brothers Who Were Turned into Birds") appears in the *KHM* as "The Six Swans" (49), "The Seven Ravens" (25), and "The Twelve Brothers" (9); AT 451 was also the basis for Hans Christian Andersen's "The Wild Swans" and may be found in variations across different regional oral traditions.

circulating among elites throughout the early modern era. What was new about the historical moment identified in my study was the establishment of an educated middle-class reading public ready for their own transformations of the fairy tale—transformations that, notably, centered on the child reader.

Before I continue, I want to pause briefly to articulate my position within a related debate among folklore scholars regarding the oral and literary origins of fairy tales.[19] My approach in this chapter, tracking changes over time in editions of the Grimms' published collection, should most certainly *not* be taken as a dismissal of the power and complexity of an enduring oral fairy tale tradition.[20] I concur with scholars such as Harvey Graff, Walter Ong, Linda Dégh, Jack Zipes, and Donald Haase, who find orality and literacy coexisting and intersecting throughout the modern era in ways more complex than a simple, teleological displacement of folklore with the printed word.[21] Without discounting popular oral forms,

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[19] This debate was partly recorded in a special issue of the *Journal of American Folklore*, edited by Dan Ben-Amos. See Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Straparola and the Fairy Tale: Between Literary and Oral Traditions," 377-76; Francisco Vaz da Silva, "The Invention of Fairy Tales," 398-425; Dan Ben-Amos, "Straparola: The Revolution That Was Not," 426-46; and Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "*Fairy Godfather*, Fairy-Tale History, and Fairy-Tale Scholarship: A Response to Dan Ben-Amos, Jan M. Ziolkowski, and Francisco Vaz da Silva," 447-96 in the *Journal of American Folklore* 123, no. 490 (2010). The dispute crystallized in the publication of and responses to Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales: A New History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2009), including Jack Zipes, "Sensationalist Scholarship: A Putative 'New' History of Fairy Tales," *Cultural Analysis* 9 (2010): 129-45 [edited and reprinted as an appendix in Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 157-73]; Donald Haase, review of *Fairy Tales: A New History*, by Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Journal of Folklore Research* (September 2011): http://www.indiana.edu/~jfr/review.php?id=914; and Ruth Bottigheimer, "Reply to the Review of *Fairy Tales: A New History*," *Journal of Folklore Research* (November 2011): http://www.jfr.indiana.edu/review.php?id=1350.

[20] For an example of a study which directly engages with folk culture and oral literature as historical evidence, see David Hopkin, *Voices of the People in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Hopkin's analysis of folktales, songs, riddles and other materials documenting the experiences of nineteenth-century French peasants, fisher communities, lace-makers, and other previously ignored social groups models useful methodologies for deploying oral sources to reach the subjectivities of the "low multitudes."

[21] Among others, see Harvey Graff, ed., *Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982); Linda Dégh, "What Did the Grimm Brothers Give to and Take from the Folk?" in *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale*, ed. James M. McGlathery (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 66-90; Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale* (2010), especially xiv-xv, 21, 184-88; Donald Haase, "Kiss and Tell: Orality, Narrative, and the Power of Words in 'Sleeping Beauty,'" *Etudes de Lettres* 289, no. 3-4 (2011): 275-92.

my focus in this project at large is on the evolution of children's educational practices with the written word; thus, this chapter examines the publishing phenomenon of the *KHM*. Nevertheless, in the final section on fairy tale practices, I rely on the insights of folklorists who have excavated features of oral storytelling such as stock characters, repeating magical phenomena, and familiar beginnings and endings ("once upon a time…" or "es war einmal…").[22] These recurring motifs have enabled, as Jack Zipes writes, the "memetic transmission" of fairy tales: that is, the circulation, replication, and transformation of basic cultural units through, in particular, children's acculturation.[23]

The fairy tales that German readers consumed in the early nineteenth century owed debts to commingled Middle Eastern, Italian, French, English, Celtic, Scandinavian, and Slavic traditions.[24] For literary antecedents to the *KHM*, the following summary provides only a partial timeline. Here, I highlight authors whose contributions shaped conventions relevant to my later analysis of class cultures and reading practices, relating to the fairy tale's closing moral, stock figures, narration, humor, magic, romance, and social commentary. Particularly influential predecessors to the Grimms include: Giovanni Francesco **Straparola** (Lombardy, c. 1480 - c. 1558; possibly only a pen name for the "loquacious" author of a *Decameron*-like collection of 75 stories told within a frame narrative); Giambattista **Basile** (Naples, c. 1576 - 1632; poet, court official, and author of the framed collection of 50 tales that became known as *Il Pentamerone*, later championed by the Grimms); and a group of French salon and court writers of *contes de fées* that included Madame **d'Aulnoy** (c. 1650/51 –

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[22] One important subcategory of folklore studies is the work by scholars such as Paul Delarue, who have established so-called "synthetic" versions of familiar tales that most closely resemble the oldest renditions of these stories that have been recorded. Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenèze, *Le conte populaire français: Catalogue raisonnée des versions de France* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2002).

[23] Jack Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2006). See also the update in Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale* (2012), 17-20.

[24] Jack Zipes, "Cross-Cultural Connections and the Contamination of the Classical Fairy Tale," in *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition*, ed. Jack Zipes (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 845-69.

1705; author of the first published literary fairy tale in French, as well as two collections of stories that married folkloric material with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century novelistic conventions) and Charles **Perrault** (1628-1703; whose versions of "Puss in Boots," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Bluebeard," among other tales, would likely seem the most familiar to twenty-first-century readers, next to the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*).[25]

Finally, Madame **Leprince de Beaumont**, whose *Magasin des enfans* (1756; translated into German by Johann Joachim Schwaben in 1757) figured prominently in Chapter 2's discussion of Enlightenment youth periodicals, is a crucial figure of the pre-Grimms era. In addition to disseminating a paradigmatic version of "Beauty and the Beast" popular today,[26] Leprince explicitly included fairy tales in her magazine as a didactic instrument. "Some will say, we [already] have twelve volumes of fairy tales, our children can read those," Leprince wrote defensively in the foreword to her *Magasin des enfans*, thinking most likely of the work published by writers such as d'Aulnoy and Perrault.

> To that I respond: besides the fact that these tales often have difficulties in the style, they are always pernicious for children, for whom they are only suitable to inspire dangerous and false ideas....I find a way to make children understand, when they read "Bluebeard," the inconveniences of a marriage of interest; the dangers of curiosity, the misfortunes that can happen because of a little indulgence for the caprices of a spouse; the futility of lying to avoid chastisement. Could I find as much in the twelve volumes that I have cited? The small amount of morality that they have introduced is drowned

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[25] On Straparola (including an explanation of his likely pseudonymous name), see W. G. Waters, "Terminal Essay," *The Italian Novelists: The Facetious Nights of Straparola*, by Giovanni Francesco Straparola, trans. and ed. W. G. Waters (London: The Society of Bibliophiles, 1901), Volume IV, 237-74 [reprinted as "The Mysterious Giovan Francesco Straparola, Founding Father of the Fairy Tale" in Zipes, *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition* (2001)]. On Basile, see Nancy L. Canepa, *From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's 'Lo cunto de li cunti' and the Birth of the Literary Fairy Tale* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999). On the remarkable life and work of Mme d'Aulnoy (as well as other writers in the French vogue for literary fairy tales at the end of the seventeenth century), see Lewis Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690-1715: Nostalgic Utopias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). On Perrault (particularly the complicated relationship between his literary tales and folklore), see Lydie Jean, "Charles Perrault's Paradox: How Aristocratic Fairy Tales Became Synonymous with Folklore Conservation," *TRAMES: A Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 11, no. 3: 276-83.

[26] See Betsy Hearne, *Beauty and the Beast: Visions and Revisions of an Old Tale* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

> under a wondrous ridiculousness, because it is not joined to the goal that one should offer children; the acquisition of virtues, the correction of vices.[27]

In this passage, Leprince articulates simultaneously two key and seemingly contradictory perspectives on fairy tales: first, that fairy tales needed to be carefully curated and shaped for children's peculiar needs; but second, that the fairy tale was inherently a suitable vehicle for pedagogy and civilizing aims. Through such moves and retellings, the stage was set by the late eighteenth century for the entrance of romantic German folklorists—contemporaries of the Grimms.

The ubiquity of fairy tales for nineteenth-century German readers

Scholars agree that the late eighteenth century marked a significant shift in the forms and intended audiences for European fairy tales, as well as an explosion in publishing. Major writers of the Enlightenment and Romantic era—the likes of Christoph Martin **Wieland**, Ludwig **Tieck**, **Novalis**, Friedrich de la Motte **Fouqué**, and the extraordinary E. T. A. **Hoffmann**—continued to experiment with fairy tale forms into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including crafting metaphorical allegories with political commentary and most certainly writing with adult readers in mind.[28] But at the same time, this period witnessed the first significant publications of fairy tales designed particularly for the child reader's needs—thus contributing to the modern reimagination of that reader traced throughout my dissertation. Here, a brief discussion of the Grimms' immediate forerunners and contemporaries is intended to situate the emergence of the *KHM* as a children's book

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[27] "On me dira, nous avons douze volumes de contes de Fées, nos enfans peuvent les lire: à cela je réponds outre que ces contes ont souvent de difficultés dans le stile, ils sont toûjours perniceux pour les enfans, aux quels ils ne sont propres qu'à inspirer des idées dangereuses & fausses....Je trouve moyen de faire comprendre aux enfans, lors qu'ils lisent la Barbe bleue, les inconvèniens d'un mariage fait par intérêt; les dangers de la curiosité, les malheurs qui peuvent arriver du peu de complaisance, qu'on a pour les caprices d'un époux; l'inutilité du mensonge, pour éviter le châtiment. En pourrois-je trouver autant dans les douze volumes que j'ai cités? Le peu de morale qu'on y a fait entrer, est noyé sous un merveilleux ridicule, parce qu'il n'est pas joint nécessairement à la fin qu'on doit offrir aux enfans; l'aquisition des vertus, la corection des vices." Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des enfans* (1756), iv-v.

[28] Zipes, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* (2000), xxv.

market phenomenon. In this fertile period of fairy tale production, what other stories might bourgeois children have been reading and hearing? Fairy tales of diverse styles and plots were ubiquitous in the German reading landscape of the nineteenth century.

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Europe, "fairy tale" was a large tent covering a diverse range of story forms that reached young readers.[29] Fairy tales appeared throughout the Enlightenment youth periodicals, whether explicitly as in the *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* (1774) story "Flörchens Geschichte. Ein Märchen" or as part of the repertoire that influenced styles and structures of other stories. They also showed up across book catalogues aimed at children and youth, as in an advertisement from the back of a 1795 edition of Sophie von La Roche's *Letters to Lina from Mother: A Book for the Young Lady That Will Cultivate Her Heart and Her Understanding* (*Briefe an Lina als Mutter: Ein Buch für junge Frauenzimmer die ihr Herz und ihren Verstand bilden wollen*). Among various didactic texts and novels, the publishers recommended L. T. Kosegarten's rendering of the Cupid and Psyche story, one of the first European fairy tale plots. Kosegarten's *Psyche: A Fairy Tale from Antiquity* (2nd edition, 1789) could be had for 8 groschen, a middling price compared with the other advertised volumes. As anecdotal evidence of the omnipresence of fairy tales, the 34 titles preserved from the young Ferdinand Freiligrath's library include three volumes of

[29] The German term "Märchen" is not solely limited to tales of magic and fairies, although it is most often translated as "fairy tale" in English. Etymologically, it is a diminutive (from the "-chen" ending) derivation of the Middle German word *maere* or *māri*, meaning narration, story, or news. In the late Middle Ages, it came to mean a fictional tale. Calvert Watkins, ed., *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 51; Max Lüthi, *Märchen* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2004), 3.

Gellert's fables.[30] These fables brought the elements of fantasy and amusement to Freiligrath's shelves, since most of his other texts were schoolbooks or dictionaries.[31]

Among the writers in the early part of the Grimms' era were Johann Karl August **Musäus** (1735-1787) and Benedikte **Naubert** (1756-1819). Musäus published his *Folktales of the Germans* (*Volksmärchen der Deutschen*) between 1782 and 1786 while holding positions as a gymnasium teacher and as the master of pages ("Pagenhofmeister") at Karl August's Weimar court.[32] Even though the "Volk" in the title of this collection of largely original, literary tales is misleading, the fact that Musäus articulated his purpose as documenting a long-standing oral tradition for middle-class German readers directly presaged the Grimms' nationalist project.[33] Similarly, Naubert titled her own collection the *New Folktales of the Germans* (*Neue Volksmährchen der Deutschen*; published anonymously between 1789 and 1793). Of more

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[30] Interestingly, Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter, Käthe or Kate Freiligrath-Kroeker, later translated Clemens Brentano's fairy tales into English (in addition to her own father's poetry and other texts). See David Blamires, *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children's Books 1780-1918* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2009), 263-74. But of course, this was not a purely coincidental connection. Rather, Freiligrath-Kroeker's interest in and approach to fairy tales reflects a generational shift from her father's youthful reading to a late nineteenth-century context in which fairy tales had become inextricably linked with childhood. Consider Freiligrath-Kroeker's introduction to the Brentano translation: "Familiar as these tales have been to me from my childhood, and household words as many of them have become to me, it has been with real delight that I have given them an English dress; and I am proud to be the first to introduce them to English children, trusting that they, too, may come to love the name of Brentano with those of Andersen and Grimm." *Fairy Tales from Brentano,* trans. Kate Freiligrath-Kroeker (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1885): xxii-xxiii.

[31] Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *C. F. Gellerts sämtliche Fabeln und Erzählungen in drey Büchern* (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1795).

[32] Hans Peter Neureuter, "Musäus, Johann Karl August," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 18 (1997), 623. On Musäus, see Dorothea Berger, "Die Volksmärchen der Deutschen von Musäus, ein Meisterwerk der Deutschen Rokokodichtung," *PMLA* 69, no. 5 (1954): 1200-12; Malgorzata Kubisiak, *Märchen und Meta-Märchen: Zur Poetik der "Volksmärchen der Deutschen" von Johann Karl August Musäus* (Ingelheim am Rhein: Litblockín, 2002).

[33] As Ruth Bottigheimer demonstrates, Musäus composed literary tales intended for a cultured, adult audience. Bottigheimer, "Musäus, Johann Karl August," in *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* (2000), 329-330. However, by 1850 (that is, the end of the period surveyed in this dissertation) the Musäus collection had been "translated" into an English edition specifically marketed for child readers as *The Arm! – The Sword! – and the Hour! Or, the Legend of the Enchanted Knights.* This "freely versified and amplified" version by M. G. Kennedy bore a dedication "to the Rising Generation of the great and mighty kingdom from the prince, to the peasant, to the richest!–to the poorest! ...written expressly for the amusement and instruction of youth..." For a discussion of the Kennedy verse translation, see Blamires, 60. Perhaps justly lost to dusty shelves, it begins, "Once on a time, our legend saith, / A mighty Baron thrived / In flocks, and crops, and cash beside, / And so this Baron wived." Kennedy, *The Arm! – The Sword! – and the Hour!* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans), 10.

interest here, however, is a direct connection between Naubert and Grimms. In 1809, Wilhelm Grimm discovered her identity and visited Naumburg to interview her, one year before the brothers completed the draft manuscript of the *KHM*.[34]

Two other important early figures were Achim **von Arnim** (1781-1831) and Clemens **Brentano** (1778-1842).[35] Brothers-in-law and collaborators, they were deeply imbedded in the literati of the German Enlightenment. Brentano was a grandson of Sophie von La Roche (see Chapter 2) and sister to Bettina (Elisabeth) Brentano-von Arnim, to whom the Grimms dedicated the *KHM* (see a discussion of Bettina Brentano-von Arnim's childhood letters in Chapter 5).[36] Arnim and Brentano moved in circles that included the Grimms, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Joseph von Eichendorff; von Arnim and Bettina Brentano's daughter Gisela von Arnim also became a writer of fairy tales, and married Herman Grimm, one of Wilhelm Grimm's sons.[37] Together, Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano published what is generally recognized as the first collection of German folk songs, *The Boy's Magic Horn* (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, 1805 and 1808).[38] Their work is relevant to a study of the Grimms in two important respects: First, the romantic nationalism of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*

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[34] Denis Sweet, "Introduction to Beneditke Naubert, 'The Cloak'" in *Bitter Healing: German Women Writers 1700-1830: An Anthology*, ed. Jeannine Blackwell and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 201-6. Astrid Münder notes that, unlike less scrupulous men, Grimm kept the secret of Naubert's identity, beyond sharing it with his brother and Arnim von Brentano. Astrid Münder, "Women's Roles in Fairy Tales: A Comparison of the Portrayal of Women in 'Marienkind' of the Brothers Grimm and Benedikte Naubert's 'Ottilie'" (master's thesis, West Virginia University, 2002), 33.

[35] On Arnim, see Roswitha Burwig and Bernd Fischer, eds., *Neue Tendenzen der Arnimforschung: Edition, Biographie, Interpretation* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990). On Brentano, see John F. Fetzer, *Clemens Brentano* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981).

[36] I follow Elke Frederiksen, Katherine Goodman, and others in using this version of Bettina Bretano-von Arnim's name, despite the possible variations. (In Chapter 5, I simply use her birth name, since all references are to the writer as a child.) See Elke P. Frederiksen and Katherine R. Goodman, "'Locating' Bettina Brentano-von Arnim, A Nineteenth Century German Woman Writer," in *Bettina Brentano-von Arnim: Gender and Politics*, ed. Frederiksen and Goodman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 32n2.

[37] For more on these literary and familial circles, see Shawn Jarvis, "Trivial Pursuit? Women Deconstructing the Grimmian Model in the *Kaffeterkreis,*" in *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales: Responses, Reactions, Revisions*, ed. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1993), 102-26.

[38] Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, ed. Heinz Rölleke (1805 and 1808; repr. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2006).

was a direct inspiration for the Grimms' fervor for collecting folklore "from the people." And second, scholars today owe a great debt to Clemens Brentano for preserving among his papers the earliest extant manuscript of the *KHM*. In 1810, two years before the publication of the first volume, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm sent an incomplete draft to Brentano for his feedback. Although he apparently never responded, the so-called "Ölenberg manuscript" was discovered there in the 1920s, providing us with a rich record of the Grimms' developing practices.[39]

Moving to Märchen collections that were both popular and related in form during the Grimms' era, I highlight Wilhelm **Hauff** (1802-1827) and Ludwig **Bechstein** (1801-1860), whose fairy tale books might also have appeared on the shelves of middle-class German child readers in the early to mid-nineteenth century.[40] Hauff, although largely overlooked in the English-reading world, is still known and popular in Germany today (particularly for his story, "Dwarf Long Nose" ["Der Zwerg Nase"]). During his short life, he authored three story collections that he called "fairy tale almanacs" for the years 1826, 1827, and 1828.[41] Even though, as some scholars suggest, the subtitle "for the sons and daughters of the educated classes" was disingenuous—that is, Hauff truly intended his tales also for adult eyes—it nevertheless indicates that by the 1820s the German market had begun to equate children and fairy tales.[42] Bechstein, who published his *German Fairy Tale Book* (*Deutsches Märchenbuch*) in 1845 and *New German Fairy Tale Book* (*Neues Deutsches*

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[39] *KHM* 1810.

[40] On Hauff, see Maureen Thum, "Misreading the Cross-Writer: The Case of Wilhelm Hauff's *Dwarf Long Nose*," *Children's Literature* 25 (1997): 1-23; on Bechstein, see Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "Ludwig Bechstein," in *The Teller's Tale: Lives of the Classic Fairy Tale Writers*, ed. Sophie Raynard (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 153-61; Ruth Bottigheimer, "Ludwig Bechstein's Fairy Tales: Nineteenth Century Bestsellers and Bürgerlichkeit," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 15, no. 2 (1990): 55-88.

[41] In the prefatory frame to Hauff's first collection, a personified "Mährchen," daughter of "Queen Fantasy," disguises herself as an "Almanac" in order to gain entrance to a city after having been rejected by guards with sharp pens (and, by allegory, bypass censors).

[42] D. Maureen Thum, "Wilhelm Hauff," in *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* (2000), 229-30.

Märchenbuch) in 1856, is today probably the best-known nineteenth-century writer of German fairy tales, after the Grimms. Although he drew on and rewrote some *KHM* tales as part of his collection, Bechstein even outsold the Grimms for some years in the mid-nineteenth century, according to Ruth Bottigheimer's calculations.[43] Of particular note is that Bechstein's collections (coming at the end of the Grimms' era) were marketed to young readers from the outset.

Finally, any discussion of the fairy tale landscape in early nineteenth-century Europe would be incomplete without brief mention of two more essential (bodies of) texts. The collection of stories compiled in variations as **One Thousand and One Nights** (otherwise known in English as the *Arabian Nights*) has its origins in the twelfth century, with different literary versions as early as the fifteenth century displaying Persian, Indian, Arabic, and Egyptian influences.[44] Antoine Galland's translation into French from one Arabic edition appeared between 1704 and 1717. While the popularity of Galland's work certainly owed a debt to the fascination with *contes de fées* already active in French literary circles (see above), the characters, settings, and style of his *Mille et Une Nuit* stories in turn influenced the writing of European fairy tales for centuries to come.[45] In the early nineteenth-century context, the *Arabian Nights* especially filtered through Wilhelm Hauff's tales (for example, "The Story of

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[43] Bottigheimer has suggested that the buying public were better acquainted with Bechstein than with Grimm in the early years. However, Bechstein's first collection did not appear until the tail end of the period surveyed in this dissertation. Furthermore, Bechstein may have considered his audience as one of more adolescent readers than the Grimms' eventual appeal to younger children. Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "The Publishing History of Grimms' Tales: Reception at the Cash Register," in *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales*, ed. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 78-101.

[44] Husain Haddawy, "Introduction," in *Arabian Nights*, trans. Husain Haddawy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), ix-xxix.

[45] Galland's version, which was less scholarly and derived more from European fairy tale style than Richard Burton's later "unexpurgated" edition of the *Arabian Nights*, seems to have had more influence on the popular circulation of these stories in German markets. The first German translation, based on Galland's text, appeared in 1712. See Ernst-Peter Wieckenberg, *Johann Heinrich Voß und "Tausend und eine Nacht"* (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, 2002).

Caliph Stork") and the Grimms' *KHM*.[46] The last influential nineteenth-century fairy tale writer I will mention here is a complex figure, someone who probably would have appreciated that place of honor: Hans Christian **Andersen** (1805-1875).[47] First published in 1835, Andersen's fairy tales were swiftly translated into German and grew in popularity throughout the late 1830s and 1840s (especially for child readers, despite Andersen's ambivalence about that market).[48] In 1844, Andersen visited the Grimms in Berlin, expecting that they would know his fairy tale work well. He left in humiliation when it became clear that Jacob Grimm had never heard of him. The happy ending to this anecdote (although not all such encounters resolved happily in Andersen's life) is that within two weeks Jacob had read some of Andersen's tales and visited him in Copenhagen with apologies.[49] In truth, although some of Andersen's ambitions were unsatisfied during his life, his tales were indeed essential reading during the latter part of the period addressed here and after. They took their place among the ubiquitous fairy tales on middle-class child readers' shelves—perhaps the most significant, among the most popular, and certainly the most globally long-lasting of which were the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

Kinder- und Hausmärchen

Jacob Grimm was born in 1785 and his brother Wilhelm a year later, both in Hanau.[50] Three brothers and a sister followed the older boys, who were educated in Kassel. Their father, Philipp Grimm, was a lawyer who married a city councilman's daughter,

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[46] See Otto Spies, *Orientalische Stoff den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1952).
[47] Maria Tatar, "Denmark's Perfect Wizard," in *The Annotated Hans Christian Andersen*, ed. Maria Tatar (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), xv-xxxvi.
[48] On the close relationship between the nineteenth-century Danish and German press (Andersen and Grimm were translated into each other's languages first), see Cay Dollerup, *Tales and Translation: The Grimm Tales from Pan-Germanic Narratives to Shared International Fairy Tales* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1999).
[49] Dollerup, 66-67.
[50] H. Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm: Ihr Leben und Werk in Selbstzeugnissen, Briefen und Aufzeichnungen* (Ebenhausen bei München: Wilhelm Langewiesche, Brandt, 1952).

Dorothea Zimmer Grimm. Though the death of their father in 1796 was a blow to the family's financial well-being, the boys were able to study at the University of Marburg and in their adult working life they moved in scholarly, middle-class circles.[51] In 1825, Wilhelm married Dorothea Wild, one of several sisters who contributed tales to the *KHM*; Jacob never married.[52]

The brothers' primary scholarly interest was German philology, and it was through their exploration of old German language and customs that they began working on folklore. Historian James Sheehan writes that Jacob Grimm "believed that the aim of historical study was to discover the hidden unities at the root of contemporary complexity."[53] In linguistic terms, this meant discovering the common language and literature that defined a unified German identity. When Jacob lost his position with the Hessian War Commission after the Treaty of Tilsit, he continued his interest in German cultural traditions while working as the personal librarian for the new Westphalian King Jérôme (Napoleon's brother).[54] Both brothers were usually professionally employed in addition to their own research. This was once notably interrupted, when the brothers were both professors at the University of Göttingen in Hanover and Ernst August II came to the throne. After he revoked the Hanoverian constitution in 1837, the Grimms and five other liberal professors (the "Göttingen Seven") famously refused to take an oath of allegiance to what they saw as tyranny, and were expelled from Göttingen.[55] Hermann Rebel (among other scholars) connects the political investment of the Grimms with their cultural project, writing, "Their goal was a new German and yet cosmopolitan culture that would allow them to transcend

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[51] Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 2-6.
[52] Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm*, 28.
[53] James Sheehan, *German History, 1770-1866* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 449-550.
[54] Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm*, 9-14.
[55] Dollerup, 5.

their own failed political revolutions by opening a world of education and spirit apart from politics and war."[56] In this way, the Grimms contributed to a growing interest of urban middle-class intellectuals in popular culture.

Responding in part to a project begun by their friends Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm had begun to collect folklore from family friends, neighbors, assorted local informants, and literary sources at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[57] Through published versions of this collection from 1812 to 1857, they gradually revised, moralized, and stylistically unified the tales. The preface to the first publication of the *KHM* in 1812 begins with a melodramatic metaphor about the impending extinction of "the riches of German poetry in early times."[58] The editors express admiration for the oral traditions of Africa, Greece, Denmark, and other regions. But it is the "broad proliferation of these German [tales]" that occupied the Grimms, "because they reveal a kinship among the noblest people [throughout Europe]."[59] Like many German Romantics, the Grimms were committed to maintaining what they found to be natural, innocent, original German literature, and in this first edition of their collection, they claimed to have "endeavored to record these tales as purely as possible."[60] This perception of authenticity

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[56] Hermann Rebel, "Why Not 'Old Marie'…Or Someone Very Much Like Her? A Reassessment of the Question about the Grimms' Contributors from a Social Historical Perspective." *Social History* 13, no. 1 (1988): 2.

[57] The precise source for each tale in the *KHM* has been a subject of vigorous inquiry and debate for nearly two hundred years. See, among others, Wilhelm Schoof, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grimmschen Märchen* (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, 1959); the polemical John M. Ellis, *One Fairy Story Too Many: The Brothers Grimm and Their Tales* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Heinz Rölleke, *Grimms Märchen und ihre Quellen: Die literarischen Vorlagen der Grimmschen Märchen synoptisch vorgestellt und kommentiert* (Trier: Wissenschaftlichter Verlag Trier, 1998).

[58] "den Reichthum deutscher Dichtung in frühen Zeiten…" Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, "Vorrede," *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1812/15 (Frankfurt: Fischer Bücherei, 1962), 7. (This edition referred to hereafter as *KHM* 1812/15.)

[59] "Noch ein anderer höchst merkwürdiger Umstand erklärt sich daraus, nämlich die große Ausbreitung dieser deutschen. Sie erreichen hierin nicht bloß die Heldensagen von Siegfried dem Drachentödter, sondern sie übertreffen diese sogar, indem wir sie, und genau dieselben, durch ganz Europa verbreitet finden, so daß sich in ihnen eine Verwandtschaft der edelsten Völker offenbart." Ibid., 11.

[60] "Wir haben uns bemüht, diese Märchen so rein als möglich war aufzufassen…" Ibid., 12.

was essential to the Grimms' original goals of cultural preservation. But by the second edition of 1819, a philosophical shift was already apparent.

Georg Reimer published Volume I of the first edition in Berlin in 1812. Volume II followed in 1815 with an elaborated literary style but the same format.[61] The second edition, which saw the most dramatic shift in style from a scholarly to a popular voice, was prepared in 1819 and a volume of supplementary notes was published in 1822. In 1825 they created a new version of the work known as the *Kleine Ausgabe* (small edition), a selection of 50 tales which was produced with a keen eye on the book market. Altogether, between 1812 and 1857 seven *Große Ausgaben* and ten *Kleine Ausgaben* were edited and printed, with 211 tales making it into the final full edition.[62] Of this list, many tale types appear in more than one rendition, such as "The Six Swans," "The Twelve Brothers," and "The Seven Ravens," as mentioned above. Later into the nineteenth century, more and more tales were drawn from novels and newspapers popular with the bourgeois audience.

But it was not only the sources and style of the tales which changed across editions. The development of the *KHM* was driven by the escalating concern for child readers that is traced throughout this dissertation.[63] The *Kleine Ausgabe*, for example, owed its existence to Wilhelm Grimm's attempt to capitalize on the success of English translations of their collection that had been marketed to parents and children. Furthermore, after the initial publication of their project, the Grimms began to reconceive of their mission as not only a

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[61] While most scholars agree that Wilhelm Grimm was primarily responsible for the editing that reshaped the *KHM* from the second full edition of 1819 onwards, I have chosen to refer to "the Grimms" as editors; the collection continued to be published under both brothers' names and Jacob did not step away entirely from the project, so for my purposes identifying the individual hand on each change is not critical.

[62] Ruth Bottigheimer, "The Publishing History of Grimms' Tales: Reception at the Cash Register," in *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales*, ed. Donald Haase (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 78-101.

[63] On the Grimms' transformation of the original edition to a more stylized form intended for children, see, among others, Ellis, *One Fairy Story Too Many* (1983); Jack Zipes, "Once There Were Two Brothers Named Grimm" in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (1986; repr. 2003), xxiii-xxxviii; Bottigheimer, *Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys* (1987); Maria Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 252.

scholarly and nationalistic one, but explicitly as a pedagogic charge. As early as the second volume in 1815, the Grimms wrote, "However, through our collection, we wanted not merely to serve the history of poetry and mythology; it was equally the intention that the poetry itself, which lives in it, take effect: that it give delight wherever it could delight, and also that it would become a proper *Erziehungsbuch* [educational book]."[64] Their vision of fairy tales as a vehicle for moral instruction, this "Erziehungsbuch," demonstrates the emergence of the active child reader as a priority for nineteenth-century Germans. This was evident both in their concern for molding the literacy practices of child readers as unique from the needs of adults and in their allowance for pleasure and imagination as part of the educational experience. In the second edition of 1819, the Grimms retreated further from the untouched presentation of original stories, proclaiming in the preface that they had "carefully expunged every expression in this new edition not suitable for children."[65] The moral education that the Grimms pursued in this new mission of reshaping the fairy tales for child readers was profoundly concerned with family life, which I will explore further below.

My primary method in this chapter traces changes over time through these two sets of choices the Grimms made in the transformation of their collection for a child audience: 1) selecting and translating source material to the form of the *KHM*, and 2) editing tales across editions.[66] As an example of how and why the stories presented to young readers changed across various editions of the *KHM*, I offer the story with which the Grimms

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[64] "Wir wollten indeß durch unsere Sammlung nicht blos der Geschichte der Poesie einen Dienst erweißen, es war zugleich Absicht, daß die Poesie selbst, die darin lebendig ist, wirke: erfreue, wen sie erfreuen kann, und darum auch, daß ein eigentliches Erziehungsbuch daraus werde." "Vorrede," *KHM* 1812/15, 237.

[65] "jeden für das Kinderalter nicht passenden Ausdruck in dieser neuen Auflage sorgfältig gelöscht." "Vorrede," *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1819, reprinted in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1857 ed. Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1980), 1: 17.

[66] In this iteration of the chapter, I offer examples of editorial choices that I see as illustrative of larger patterns concerning the child reader. In a future extension of this project, I hope to thematize the whole corpus of tales across editions more systematically.

consistently opened the collection from 1812 until 1857: "The Frog King, or Iron Heinrich" ("Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," 1). One explanation for the Grimms' preference for this as the opener has to do with particularly German features of the tale. According to their notes of 1856, the story's origin was in Hesse, the state where the brothers were raised and where Dorothea Viehmann lived, the storyteller whom the Grimms virtually canonized as the iconic German peasant woman.[67] The first half of the Grimms' version is the "Frog Prince" story still familiar today, of a princess who is helped by and then marries a prince who had been enchanted as a frog. But it continues to an epilogue (included from the 1810 manuscript version onward) describing the happy reconciliation of the frog king with "der treue Heinrich," his faithful servant. Maria Tatar suggests that the inclusion of the second story reflected virtues that the Grimms understood as "quintessentially Germanic."[68]

What is particularly fascinating about the choice of this tale for the prime spot in the book is not just its nationalist overtones, but that over the course of editions the Grimms changed it from an erotically charged bedroom story to a moral lesson on vows, chastity, and companionate marriage. In the 1810 manuscript, the princess quickly takes the prince to bed as soon as he is no longer a slimy frog.[69] For the first published edition in 1812, the Grimms slightly changed this so that when the frog complains that he is tired and wants to lie down with her, she rejects him and it is only after he turns into a handsome young prince and is named as her "dear companion" that they "fell asleep together with pleasure."[70] By the 1857

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[67] Grimm, "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," in *KHM Anmerkungen* 1856, 15. However, Heinz Rölleke notes that this should really be attributed to the Wild family (Wilhelm's future in-laws), with some literary "contaminations." *KHM* 1810, 115.

[68] Maria Tatar, *The Annotated Brothers Grimm* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 3.

[69] "Wie er aber an die Wand kam, so fiel er herunter in das Bett und lag darin als ein junger schöner Prinz, da legte sich die Königstochter zu ihm." *KHM* 1810, 46.

[70] "Aber der Frosch fiel nicht todt herunter, sondern wie er herab auf das Bett kam, da wars ein schöner junger Prinz. Der war nun ihr lieber Geselle, und sie hielt ihn werth wie sie versprochen hatte, und sie schliefen vergnügt zusammen ein." *KHM* 1812/15, 19.

edition, we find the princess violently throwing the frog at a wall when he suggests sharing a bed, eliminating any hint of impropriety. At the same time that eroticism was expurgated from the story, the Grimms turned it into a didactic message about marriage and the duties of a daughter. By adding lines such as, "'someone who has helped you when you were in need you should not hereafter scorn,'" the editors not only remarked on the importance of honoring promises.[71] They also emphasized the obedience due by a daughter first to her father, and then to her husband. The princess must invite the frog to her bedroom out of loyalty to him as a companion and deference to her father. Furthermore, an important part of the morality of marriage as outlined by the Grimms was that love should inspire a union. The frog tells the princess, "'your clothes, your pearls and jewels, and your golden crown, those I do not want: but if you will love me and if I should be your companion and playmate,'" then, he offers, he will help.[72] The Grimms added several references to the prince as the princess's "lieber Geselle" (dear companion), to highlight the supposed love between them. The tale perfectly suited their purposes both as a faithfully Germanic story and as a didactic family lesson—particularly after the editing that shaped the tale from the Grimms' first recorded version.

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[71] "Der König aber ward zornig und sprach „wer dir geholfen hat, als du in der Noth warst, den sollst du hernach nicht verachten." Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1857; repr. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), 1: 31-32. (This two-volume edition referred to hereafter as *KHM* 1857.)

[72] "Der Frosch antwortete "deine Kleider, deine Perlen und Edelsteine, und deine goldene Krone, die mag ich nicht: aber wenn du mich lieb haben willst, und ich soll dein Geselle und Spielkamerad sein, an deinem Tischlein neben dir sitzen, von deinem goldenen Tellerlein essen, aus deinem Becherlein trinken, in deinem Bettlein schlafen: wenn du mir das versprichst, so will ich hinunter steigen und dir die goldene Kugel wieder herauf holen." *KHM* 1857, 1: 30.

Scholarly Approaches to the Fairy Tale

In this section, I briefly review some significant scholarly interpretations of fairy tales, situating myself within a sociohistorical approach. Just as fairy tales and fairy tale forms have themselves proliferated around the world, the scholarly approaches to making meaning from folk and fairy tales are many and diverse. Although the field of fairy tale scholarship has developed in significant respects during recent decades, especially within the context of children's literature and the history of childhood, a particular exchange in *The New York Review of Books* nicely exemplifies a range of interpretive approaches to fairy tales.[73] In 1984, Robert Darnton republished a chapter from his book, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, in which he proposed using folk tales to answer questions about the experience of everyday life in *ancien régime* France. This essay provoked annoyance from very different quarters. One strand of critique came from psychoanalysts who understood fairy tales as most significantly concerned with supposedly universal human desires; a second revision came from the Frankfurt School and folkloristics in the form of Jack Zipes's concern that Darnton had both neglected earlier fairy tale research and gone too far in using particular tales from Grimm and Perrault to define German and French cultural differences.

In his reply, Darnton first took on the psychoanalysts in a fairly derisive response, writing, "to tell the truth I had a sneaking suspicion all along that a libidinal undercurrent flowed through the peasants' Mother Goose. I would go so far as to argue that the peasants

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[73] All quotations in the first two paragraphs of this section are drawn from Robert Darnton, "The Meaning of Mother Goose," *The New York Review of Books*, February 2, 1984; "An Exchange on Mother Goose: Jack Zipes and Irving B. Harrison, reply by Robert Darnton," *The New York Review of Books*, May 10, 1984. The venue also highlights a complicating but happy characteristic of fairy tale studies—that is, the enduring popularity of fairy tales and fairy tale commentary outside narrow academic circles. The twenty-first century has witnessed especially fruitful exchanges between scholarly, political, and personal takes on fairy tales in popular culture. One record of such conversations may be found at SurLaLune Fairy Tales (http://www.surlalunefairytales.com).

had sex lives." Here, I tend to agree with Darnton's dismissal of the psychoanalytic approach.[74] To Zipes, Darnton implied that this criticism could partly be dismissed as disciplinary defensiveness ("instead of trying to monopolize Little Red Riding Hood for history, I think that everyone should have a crack at her, even [the psychoanalysts]"). But he did not provide a satisfying rebuttal to a more serious critique. I concur with Zipes that Darnton's methodology in the original essay was not sufficient for the stark distinctions he drew between "Germanness" and "Frenchness." In the end, however, Darnton and Zipes have more common ground than either share with psychoanalytic approach: that is, their interest—to which I most certainly subscribe—in reading fairy tales not as a reflection of social reality, but as nevertheless bearing historical meaning and significance, especially concerning the pedagogic function of storytelling.

As alluded to within the *New York Review of Books* exchange, other robust approaches to studying fairy tales include Marxist and feminist interpretations. One Marxist scholar interested in fairy tales was Vladimir Propp, whose structural analysis of what he identified as 31 folktale functions (e.g. "trickery," "guidance," "return") is still influential in folklore studies.[75] Fairy tales have also commonly been used by Marxist writers not as the object of inquiry but as allegory or metaphor (particularly with an emphasis on the triumph of ordinary people over ruling classes). Turning to feminist approaches, these critiques, rehabilitations, and revisions of fairy tales over the past half-century have provided far too

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[74] Among the psychoanalysts interested in fairy tales, Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Knopf, 1976) has provoked a number of passionate critiques. Bettelheim's analysis was based only on one historically specific version of the vast and diverse body of human folklore, the 1857 edition of the Grimms' *KHM*, although he claimed universal and eternal truths could be found in these tales. By failing to reckon with the very particular historical moment in which those versions were created, he neglected the social behavior and material experience reflected in fairy tales beyond their symbols of Oedipal conflict and wish fulfillment. Feminist critics have furthermore pointed out that though Bettelheim misguidedly sees fairy tales as a gender-less space.

[75] Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 2nd ed., trans. Laurence Scott (1928; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

rich a body of work to do full justice here.[76] As Donald Haase points out, gender and sexuality constituted key concerns for folklorists and fairy tale writers far earlier than the beginnings second-wave feminism, of course.[77] But there have been telling developments in feminist scholarship since the 1970s. In a summary of the early part of this period, Kay Stone writes that feminist analyses "justifiably aimed their criticism at popularly known tales. In so doing they tend to attack the same heroines—notably Cinderella, Snow White, and Sleeping Beauty—again and again, until the feminist view of such heroines has itself become a stereotype."[78] Later work that built on understandings of the sexism at work in the fairy tale canon to address the complexities of authors, reception, and the historical contexts of storytelling began to, as Donald Haase writes, "eschew a monolithic view of the woman-centered fairy tale" and "allow for ambiguity within female-authored tales and for ambivalence in their reception."[79] Feminist work on fairy tales has included not only historical analysis but also a vibrant tradition of retellings, perhaps the most famous of which is Angela Carter's *The Bloody Chamber and Other Stories*.[80]

Finally, while my work relies on fairy tale scholarship from multiple perspectives, I situate my analysis of the child reader's encounter with the family sociology of the *KHM*

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[76] See the following works and their bibliographies for an overview of feminist scholarship on fairy tales: Kay Stone, "Feminist Approaches to the Interpretations of Fairy Tales," in *Fairy Tales and Society*, ed. Ruth Bottigheimer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 229-34; Jack Zipes, ed., *Don't Bet on the Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England* (New York: Methuen, 1987); Donald Haase, ed., *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004); Betsy Hearne and Roberta Seelinger Trites, eds., *A Narrative Compass: Stories that Guide Women's Lives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Vanessa Joosen, *Critical and Creative Perspectives on Fairy Tales: An Intertextual Dialogue between Fairy-Tale Scholarship and Postmodern Retellings* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011).

[77] Haase points to the *conteuses* of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, as well as writers mentioned above, such as Benedikte Naubert, Bettina von Arnim, and Gisela von Arnim. Donald Haase, "Preface," in *Fairy Tales and Feminism*, vii-viii.

[78] Kay Stone, "Oral Narration in Contemporary North America," in *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion and Paradigm*, ed. Ruth Bottigheimer, 13-31 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

[79] Donald Haase, "Preface," in *Fairy Tales and Feminism*, x.

[80] Angela Carter, *The Bloody Chamber and Other Stories* (1979; repr. New York: Random House, 2012). For a collection of Carter scholarship, see the special issue "Angela Carter and the Literary *Märchen*," *Marvels & Tales* 12, no. 1 (1998).

primarily within the sociohistorical approach to fairy tales as "commentaries on the mores and customs of a particular society and the classes and groups within these societies."[81] This work acknowledges the oral traditions that have (re)shaped literary fairy tales, but also treats the *KHM* as a text arising from a specific historical moment and social context.[82] In this analysis, I also have benefited significantly from the close readings and excavations emerging from folkloristics in the mid to late twentieth century.[83] As this chapter contextualizes the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* within nineteenth-century literacy education and the history of childhood, these scholarly approaches and this long history of the fairy tale genre guide my inquiry.

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[81] Zipes, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* (2000), xxi.

[82] Exemplary sociohistorical takes on the fairy tale that inform this dissertation include Eugen Weber, "Fairies and Hard Facts: The Reality of Folktales," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42, no. 1 (1981): 93-113; Bottigheimer, *Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys* (1987); McGlathery, ed., *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale* (1988); Haase, ed., *The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales* (1993); Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994); Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* (2003); Hopkin, *Voices of the People* (2012). See also the special issue "Jack Zipes and the Sociohistorical Study of Fairy Tales," *Marvels & Tales* 16, no. 2 (2002); and Charlotte Trinquet's extensive entry on "Sociohistorical Approaches," in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 887-90. For studies specifically addressing the pedagogic function of fairy tales within the German context, see Quirin Gerstl, *Die Brüder Grimm als Erzieher: Pädagogische Analyse des Märchens* (Munich: Franz Ehrenwirth Verlag, 1964); Ulrike Bastian, *Die "Kinder- und Hausmärchen" der Brüder Grimm in der literaturpädagogischen Diskussion des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Haag und Herchen, 1981).

[83] This includes the exhaustive work of Alan Dundes, such as his *Little Red Riding Hood: A Case Book* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); detailed studies of particular tale types, such as Betsy Hearne, *Beauty and the Beast: Visions and Revisions of an Old Tale* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Heinz Rölleke's authoritative textual analysis and editions of the Grimms, such as *Grimms Märchen und ihre Quellen: Die literarischen Vorlagen der Grimmschen Märchen synoptisch vorgestellt und kommentiert* (Trier: Wissenschaftlichter Verlag Trier, 1998).

Class Cultures of Family Life in Fairy Tales for Child Readers

The class cultures embodied in the fairy tales of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*—and shaped by the Grimm brothers across editions of their collection—were most evident in depictions of family relationships and everyday life. Peasants, merchants, and kings alike saw their destinies hinge on family ties and family practices.[84] This section of the chapter is concerned with the family sociology children learned in fairy tales. Through observing the family practices redefined and elaborated across editions of these stories, I reveal the Grimms' attempt to construct a particular subjectivity by situating child readers within social expectations of family relationships and middle-class habitus.[85]

The section is itself divided into five parts, attending to different aspects of family life that feature in the *KHM*: First, I trace how the *KHM* transformed from a set of stories whose moral lessons were oriented toward their "folk" authors or literary audiences, into a conduct manual whose morals better served the educative aims of an urban middle-class milieu. The second part, on the idealized parent-child relationships celebrated by the Grimms, is followed by an analysis of proper gender roles across social groups. The next part explores the class cultures of family formation, before investigating the *Kinderwunsch*, that longing for a child which motivated so many fairy tale plots.

Proper child behavior

Like other pedagogic texts, the tales of the *KHM* contained guidelines for respectable child conduct with a specific set of expectations undergirding the vision of

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[84] One caveat: there is clear scholarly consensus that the Grimms were engaged in a social project through their *KHM*, imagining their middle-class child audience. But that does not necessarily mean that the family sociology children could learn from fairy tales mapped directly onto social class within the stories. As residues of a much older oral tradition, the class *content* of these fairy tales is sometimes ambiguous, even while the Grimms were concerned with class *perspective*.

[85] I refer here to Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes..." Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 53.

proper age roles. Yet the instability in gender, status, and age hierarchies stirred up by the age of revolutions meant that ideas about children's proper place were also under debate during this era. The Grimms' articulation of this project as their *Erziehungsbuch* made it a site for working out some of these conflicts, including through the instruction of how children should behave within families. While middle-class children's contributions to the household should, according to the virtues celebrated within the *KHM*, be founded on industry, fidelity, cleverness, and humility, the most ubiquitous theme was filial obedience.

This issue is addressed so frequently in the Grimms' collection that it would seem that disrespectful, wayward children were a wide-spread social problem in early nineteenth-century Europe. Many tales revolved around rewarding children for obedience to parent figures or disciplining them for stubbornness. Usually, obedience was demonstrated through hard work (by both girls and boys)[86] or acquiescence to marriage offers (by young women in particular).[87] In the coda to this chapter, I discuss the potential for subversive readings in the more extreme tales of self-abnegating obedience or intractability punished.

Children's obedience was certainly already a theme in the sources used for the *KHM*, but "Frau Trude" (43) illustrates how the Grimms elaborated such lessons. Reading from the final edition, the tale begins, "Once upon a time there was a little girl who was willful and nosy, and whenever her parents told her something, she would not attend to them: how could this go well for her?"[88] The word I have translated here as "nosy" (*vorwitzig*) has often been deployed explicitly in reference to children, to capture not just curiosity, but a careless

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[86] Some particularly telling illustrations of the link between filial obedience and industry may be found in "The Two Brothers" ("Die zwei Brüder," 60), "The Three Spinners" ("Die Drei Spinnerinnen," 14), and "Rumpelstiltskin" ("Rumpelstilzchen," 55). The latter two cases present parents who are so ashamed of their children's obstinate laziness that they tell fantastic lies about those daughters' abilities.

[87] While this is an often repeated trope, girls' responses to matches arranged by their parents are especially striking in "The Devil's Sooty Brother" ("Des Teufels rußiger Brüder," 100) and "The Bearskin" ("Der Bärenhäuter," 101).

[88] "Es war einmal ein kleines Mädchen, das war eigensinnig und vorwitzig, und wenn ihm seine Eltern etwas sagten, so gehorchte es nicht: wie konnte es dem gut gehen?" *KHM* 1857, 1: 226.

manner. The usage presents a familiar pedagogic tension between disciplining unlicensed curiosity and the cultivation of independent learners. In this case, the protagonist disobeys her parents in order to pursue her curiosity over the strange and wonderful things she has heard about Frau Trude, but discovers horrors at the witch's house; ultimately, she is turned into a log and thrown on the fire. Her gruesome end fits the crimes not only of disobedience but of choosing to leave her family at the risk of being disowned.

After "Frau Trude" was introduced to the *KHM* in the third edition (1837), the Grimms did no significant editing of the tale in subsequent publications. However, some telling differences emerge from comparing the didactic story they wrote to the original literary source, a poem by "Meier Teddy" written at least as early as 1822.[89] For example, the poem launches directly into a dialogue between the little girl and the witch, without the opening vocative address to child readers introduced by the Grimms to underscore the inevitability of a disobedient child's bad outcome. Furthermore, the poem invites more sympathy for the child in its initial verses, through her report that "my mother scolded me, my father beat me."[90] And while the child's obstinance seems patently foolish given the danger she is warned about in the Grimms' version, Frau Trude initially comes off as more seductive and comforting in the original: "Your parents, little cousin, are sometimes stupid/

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[89] Meier Teddy was possibly a pseudonym for Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, listed above as one of the many writers experimenting with fairy tale forms and material in the early nineteenth century. While the source is usually attributed to a *Frauentaschenbuch* (1823), I have discovered the same poem reprinted in Reader's Digest-like periodical from 1822, suggesting an earlier publication: Meier Teddy, "Klein Bäschen und Frau Trude: Ammenmährchen," *Der Sammler: Ein Unterhaltungsblatt* 14 (December 7, 1822): 586-87. See Hans-Jörg Uther, ed., *Brüder Grimm Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, vol. 4, *Nachweise und Kommentare* (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1996), 88; Walter Scherf, *Die Herausforderung des Dämons: Form und Funktion grausiger Kindermärchen* (Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1987), 135-39. For an intriguing reading of this tale (and its "intrigued" young protagonist), see Kay Turner, "Playing with Fire: Transgression as Truth in Grimms' 'Frau Trude,'" in *Transgressive Tales: Queering the Grimms*, ed. Kay Turner and Pauline Greenhill (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012), 245-76.

[90] "Meine Mutter mich schalt, mein Vater mich schlug..." "Klein Bäschen und Frau Trude" (1822), 587.

And they punished you, so do not weep about it."[91] The poem is weirder, leaving an impression more of the witch's mysterious power than of the girl's mistake. In addition to the fact that the Grimms stressed obedience in their reframing, their decision to seek out and add stories on this theme in later editions of the collection fits with their vision of an *Erziehungsbuch* for child readers.

Through obedience, middle-class children could perform proper age roles in their families. Indeed, the very idea that a child had a job to do for the family that was not a contribution to the household economy but was rather satisfied through their relationships with adults—this development demonstrates the emergence of a new child subjectivity as a bourgeois invention of the era.

Idealized parent-child relations

While children owed their parents obedience according to the *KHM*, the Grimms also used fairy tales to promote changing ideas about affection between parents and children as a defining feature of bourgeois domesticity. Although fathers and mothers alike were supposed to teach their children important moral and social values through a loving bond, essentialist attitudes about the love of mothers became especially ubiquitous in fairy tales by the middle of the nineteenth century. Rousseau's emphasis on the supposedly natural devotion of mothers was translated to the modern German context especially through the writing of Pestalozzi and Froebel.[92] It was also evident even in basic stylistic choices the Grimms made as editors, such as in the first line of "The Wolf and the Seven Young Kids" ("Der Wolf und die sieben, jungen Geißlein," 5). By the 1843 edition, the tale opened:

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[91] "Die Eltern verboten es ihr streng und sagten 'die Frau Trude ist eine böse Frau, die gottlose Dinge treibt'." *KHM* 1857, 1: 226. "Deine Eltern, Bäschen, sind manchmal dumm/ Und straften sie dich, so wein' nicht drum." "Klein Bäschen und Frau Trude" (1822), 587.

[92] It was this natural "motherly love" and nurturing capacity Fröbel attributed to women that he hoped both to support and to mobilize for his plan of kindergartens. Anja Shepela, "'Meine kühnsten Wünsche und Ideen': Women, Space, Place, and Mobility in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany," (PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2014), 130.

> "Once upon a time there was an old goat who had seven young kids, and loved them just as any mother loves her children."[93]

But in the earliest recorded version, the 1810 manuscript, the story simply began:

> "Once upon a time there was a goat, who had 7 young kids,"

with no mention of a mother's natural love.[94] The Grimms changed this gradually, with the first published version of 1812 reading:

> "A goat had seven young, whom she truly loved and carefully guarded from the wolf."[95]

By the 1819 edition, now explicitly targeting young readers, they had altered this to emphasize the naturalness of this mother's love:

> "A goat had seven young kids, whom she loved well in a motherly way and carefully guarded from the wolf."[96]

The final rendition (above) extended this description of the goat mother's love as a stand-in for any good mother's love.

An oft-discussed revision of "Hansel and Gretel" ("Hänsel und Gretel," 15) similarly attests to the Grimms' developing emphasis on the parental bond, specifically through their deliberate privileging of biological ties over other relationships. In the 1810 manuscript version, the father's ambivalence about abandoning his children in the forest was much weaker, and the blame seemed more equitably shared by both parents. His wife still initiates the idea when food runs out. But he acquiesces without much discussion of his objections: "The husband didn't want to for a long time, but the wife gave him no peace until he finally agreed."[97] Note that the couple are named as husband and wife rather than father and

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[93] "Es war einmal eine alte Geis, die hatte sieben junge Geislein, und hatte sie lieb, wie eine Mutter ihre Kinder lieb hat." *KHM* 1857, 1: 51.
[94] "Es war einmal eine Geis, die hatte 7 junge Geiserchen." *KHM* 1810, 18.
[95] "Eine Geis hatte sieben Junge, die sie gar lieb hatte und sorgfältig vor dem Wolf hütete." Grimm, *KHM* 1812/15, 1: 17.
[96] "Eine Geis hatte sieben junge Geislein, die sie recht mütterlich liebte und sorgfältig vor dem Wolf hütete." Grimm, *KHM* 1819.
[97] "Der Mann wollte lang nicht, aber die Frau ließ ihm keine Ruh, bis er endlich einwilligte." *KHM* 1810, 25.

mother. By 1812, the biological mother had been replaced with a wicked stepmother who was the clear antagonist. Furthermore, the Grimms continued to elaborate the husband's resistance, giving him more lines to demonstrate his love for his children and reluctance in the face of his wife's cruel nagging. In the first published edition, the husband responds to her suggestion,

> "No, wife" said the man, "I can not bring my heart to that, to lead my own dear children to the wild animals who would soon rip them to pieces in the woods." "If you don't do it," said the woman, "then we will all have to die of hunger together." Then she gave him no peace until he said yes.[98]

But even that wasn't enough for the Grimms, and by the final edition this exchange was yet further expanded, with the ineffectual father getting the last word after his agreement: "But the poor children still make me feel sorry."[99] Furthermore, the woodcutter's wife was initially named as the mother of Hansel and Gretel, and didn't become their *step*mother until the fourth edition of 1840. Throughout the Grimms' editing, stepmothers were presented as and even transformed into threats to the idealized family, while biological parents were celebrated.[100] Oddly, adoptive fathers were less likely to be censured in the text. To shore up patriarchal authority in a new sentimental era of family life required advertising a father's love and affection for his children. This does not erase the ambivalence the *KHM* tales sometimes present about fathering, through their valorization of mother-love.

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[98] "'Nein Frau,' sagte der Mann, 'das kann ich nicht über mein Herz bringen, meine eigenen lieben Kinder zu den wilden Thieren zu führen, die sie bald in dem Wald zerreißen würden.' 'Wenn du das nicht thust,' sprach die Frau, 'so müssen wir alle miteinander Hungers sterben.' Da ließ sie ihm keine Ruhe, bis er Ja sagte." *KHM* 1812/15, 1: 49-50.

[99] "[sie] ließ ihm keine Ruhe bis er einwilligte. 'Aber die armen Kinder dauern mich doch' sagte der Mann." *KHM* 1857, 1: 100.

[100] There is a long tradition of scholarship across disciplines on the connection between fairy tale plots about stepmothers as villains and demographic realities (for instance, the fact that widows found it more difficult to remarry than widowers in early modern Europe). See, for example, Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective," in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, 38-81 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Harold Neeman, *Piercing the Magic Veil: Toward a Theory of the* Conte (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1999).

Proper gender roles

Intersecting with age hierarchies, proper gender roles and relations are a concern throughout the *KHM*—not just for adults, but also, tellingly, for children, and even (in allegory) for animals. The changing gender order of the early nineteenth century impacted how Europeans across classes (albeit in different ways) understood relations between husbands and wives, managed children's labor and education, divided labor within households, and developed a domestic ideology built on new conceptions of motherhood and fatherhood. As Maynes notes, "in the German context these new gender roles were most fully developed among the families of civil servants—the first middle-class male careerists in Central Europe"; this category included, of course, the Grimms.[101] Unsurprisingly, the expression and prescription of gendered norms is ultimately most concerned with how girls and women should behave within the family. Fairy tale characters faced gender-asymmetrical expectations of fidelity, self-sacrifice, silence, and loving support; this section focuses, however, on the gendered division of household labor presented to child readers.

Throughout the fairy tale corpus, young readers were given models of how to perform household work according to a prescribed gender order. Snow White's goodness and virtue as a heroine is signified by her willingness to keep house for the dwarfs, to "cook, make the beds, wash, sew and knit, and...keep everything orderly and clean."[102] The stylistic editing undertaken by the Grimms between the version they recorded for the 1810

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[101] Here I am thinking in particular of Jacob Grimm's positions with the Hessian War Commission and as court librarian. Maynes, "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life" (2002), 204.

[102] "Die Zwerge sprachen 'willst du unsern Haushalt versehen, kochen, betten, waschen, nähen und stricken, und willst du alles ordentlich und reinlich halten, so kannst du bei uns bleiben, und es soll dir an nichts fehlen.' 'Ja,' sagte Sneewittchen, 'von Herzen gern,' und blieb bei ihnen. Es hielt ihnen das Haus in Ordnung: Morgens giengen sie in die Berge und suchten Erz und Gold, Abends kamen sie wieder, und da mußte ihr Essen bereit sein." *KHM* 1857, 1: 272. The 1810 manuscript version simply read: "Die Zwerge hatten Mitleiden mit ihm u. ersuchten es, bei ihnen zu bleiben, u. ihnen das Eßen zu kochen, wann sie ins Bergwerk ausgingen..." *KHM* 1810, 77.

manuscript and the first published edition underscored the importance of Snow White's household work by turning one sentence of description into a full paragraph and a contract between the dwarfs and the girl. Living without female companionship, the mining dwarfs apparently needed a girl for these household tasks as much as Snow White needed their shelter from her evil stepmother.

Similarly, a trope of siblings playing house after parental abandonment or magical enchantment repeats throughout the *KHM* as a blueprint for how these brothers and sisters should organize their households in adulthood. For example, in "The Twelve Brothers" ("Die zwölf Brüder," 9),

> The eleven [older brothers] went into the forest, caught game, deer, birds, and pigeons so they would have something to eat, and the sister and Benjamin [the youngest brother] took care that it was prepared. She sought wood for cooking and herbs for the vegetables, and put the pots on the fire, so that the meal was always ready when the eleven came home. She also kept the little cottage in order and covered the little beds in nice white and clean [sheets], and the brothers were always satisfied and lived with her in great harmony.[103]

The description of daily work is more than just ornamentation in these fairy tales. Notice how each step and detail is spelled out (however fantastic). While this is not work middle-class child readers might themselves undertake, the story assigns particular elements of household labor to the sister much in the way that middle- and upper-class girls would be expected eventually to supervise such tasks. In the 1819 edition, "Benjamin" was imported from a family of twelve brothers and one sister in Genesis as the only named sibling in this tale. In the 1812 version, the Grimms only write that "one of the brothers" had to stay home to perform the household chores. Their revision assigned these tasks to the youngest

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[103] "Die elfe zogen in den Wald, fiengen Gewild, Rehe, Vögel und Täuberchen, damit sie zu essen hatten, und die Schwester und Benjamin sorgten daß es zubereitet wurde. Sie suchte das Holz zum Kochen und die Kräuter zum Gemüs, und stellte die Töpfe ans Feuer, also daß die Mahlzeit immer fertig war, wenn die Elfe kamen. Sie hielt auch sonst Ordnung im Häuschen, und deckte die Bettlein hübsch weiß und rein, und die Brüder waren immer zufrieden und lebten in großer Einigkeit mit ihr." *KHM* 1857, 1: 75.

boy, the one who had been established to have the most affectionate relationship with their mother. When their sister arrives in the forest, she takes over most of the duties, but the fact that Benjamin also stays home actually underscores the division of labor through the association of "men's work" out in the world with full maturity.

Even some animal fables addressed the division of household labor. The message of "The Mouse, the Bird, and the Sausage" ("Von dem Mäuschen, Vögelchen und der Bratwurst," 23) is particularly provocative. The title characters begin to keep house together with clearly defined roles: the bird provides for the household by heading out into the world, while the mouse undertakes the heavier household work and the sausage does the cooking. Life continues swimmingly until the bird decides he is being treated unfairly by this arrangement, and demands an exchange of responsibilities. Upsetting the household order ends in disaster, with the sausage eaten by a strange dog, the mouse burnt up in a cooking pot, and the bird drowned in a well. In an annotation to this tale, the Grimms discussed sources: for their version, they cited Johann Michael Moscherosch's satirical poem (1642), but made a point of observing, "But the fairy tale still lives on in the oral tradition, although with different circumstances, namely, it is told only with the mouse and the sausage, without the bird; that one must cook this week, the second the other [week]."[104] The three characters instead come from the version from Moscherosch that the Grimms preferred.

If we consider this tale as an allegory for the gendered division of labor, the Grimms' preference for a more complex version of the tale, even though it meant selecting a literary rather than an oral source, suddenly makes sense. The story of two non-human characters simply splitting household labor evenly by taking turns looks quite different than a

[104] "Das Märchen lebt aber auch noch mündlich fort, doch mit veränderten Umständen, namentlich wird es bloß vom Mäußchen und Bratwürstchen erzählt, ohne das Vögelchen; das eine muß diese Woche kochen, das zweite die andere." *KHM Anmerkungen* 1856, 52.

tale that suggests catastrophe will befall all who try to perform work outside their naturally prescribed roles. Hans-Jörg Uther points out that for Moscherosch, the three characters "embody the three estates which should ensure through subordination that the state continues to exist."[105] This is undermined, and as Moscherosch states directly, "when one is no longer content to be in his estate."[106] The power of this social commentary, Uther suggests, was weakened or entirely absent in the Grimms' version. I argue, rather, that it was co-opted two centuries later to reflect concerns about gender spheres and the division of labor within families—while nevertheless retaining implications for the social order of estates.

Class cultures of family formation

While romance has certainly been long associated with the fairy tale genre, the prominence of themes concerning why to marry and whom to marry in the *KHM* also invoked tension and change around practices of family formation during the age of revolutions. From a politics of bourgeois respectability, the Grimms advanced a critique of marriages based solely on interest and promoted instead the companionate marriage ideal of love accompanying financial considerations.[107] While cross-class marriages were common in the KHM, such alliances were not intended to be a literal model for child readers; exogamy in the tales of the *KHM* does not reflect a radical social vision, but rather a bourgeois fantasy. Compare this to the "Märchengroschen" story discussed at the beginning of this

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[105] "Die drei Figuren verkörpern bei Moscherosch die drei Stände, die durch Unterordnung dafür sorgen müßten, daß der Staat bestehen bleibe..." Uther, *Nachweise und Kommentare* (1996), 50-51.
[106] "wan sich einer in seinem Stand nicht mehr benügen lassen..." Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Geschichte Philanders von Sittewalt* (Straßburg: Josias Städeln, 1650), 929.
[107] For debates over the extent and meaning of this companionate ideal, see Peter Borscheid, "Romantic Love or Material Interest: Choosing Partners in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of Family History* 11, no. 3 (1986): 157-68; Lynn Abrams, "Companionship and Conflict: The Negotiation of Marriage Relations in the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender Relations in German History: Power, Agency and Experience from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Harvey (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 101-21; Josef Ehmer, "Marriage," in *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 282-321.

chapter, in which the young reader is skeptical about a fantastic story primarily because she did not believe a princess would ever marry a tailor.[108]

Some tales included in the *KHM* suggested choosing a spouse by determining who would be a responsible provider or an industrious contributor to the household economy.[109] But marriages primarily or exclusively of interest were increasingly cast in the *KHM* as negative, mercenary, and, more often than not, lower-class. In "The Robber Bridegroom" ("Die Räuberbrautigam," 40), a miller promises his daughter to the first rich man who comes along. For the second edition in 1819, the Grimms added the line, "but the girl did not love him the way a bride should love her bridegroom," and in 1837 added another phrase "nor did she trust him."[110] Stressing love's absence—and suggesting that it was unnatural—ratcheted up the villainy of the miller and the robber bridegroom because the marriage had been contracted between the father and husband without the daughter's affection secured. This association was also underscored through the trope of unloving, violent peasant marriages that are mocked by the Grimms.[111]

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[108] Under some circumstances, marrying across class boundaries was acceptable in fantastic fairy tales (especially in attacks on aristocratic pride), e.g. in "The Griffin" ("Der Vogel Greif" 165) or "The Six Servants" ("Die sechs Diener," 134). The Grimms emphasized this by choosing a different version of "The Devil With the Three Gold Hairs" ("Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren," 29) for the 1819 edition which supported a cross-class match. But class exogamy was also often condemned, or through a deus ex machina revealed not to have occurred at all because of mistaken identities. See, for example, "The Goose Girl" ("Die Gänsemagd," 89), "The Riddle" ("Der Rätsel," 22), or "The Hare and the Hedgehog" ("Der Hase und der Igel," 187), which concludes: "But the moral of the story is...it is advisable that, when a man wants to get married, he take a wife from his own class, and one who looks just like him. Thus, whoever is a hedgehog must see to it that his wife is also a hedgehog and so forth." This translation of a story written in dialect comes from Zipes (2003), 545.

[109] In "The Wedding of Mrs. Fox," ("Die Hochzeit der Frau Füchsin" 38), the widowed Mrs. Fox chooses a new husband who would share mice with her. The mother in "Choosing a Bride" ("Die Brautschau," 155) advises her son to watch his three prospective spouses cut into cheese and choose a wife who is not gluttonous, but thrifty, peeling off just enough rind of the cheese. Poor girls are chosen for their magical spinning ability as "dowry enough" in "The Three Spinners,"("Die drei Spinnerinnen," 14) and "Rumpelstiltskin."

[110] "das Mädchen aber hatte ihn nicht recht lieb, wie eine Braut ihren Bräutigam lieb haben soll." *KHM* 1819. "...und hatte kein Vertrauen zu ihm." *KHM* 1857, 1: 208.

[111] See, for example, "Sharing Joys and Sorrows" ("Lieb und Leid Teilen," 170) or "Lean Liese" ("Die Hagere Liese," 168).

The companionate marriage most celebrated in the *KHM* involved a combination of affection (often tacked on to feminine beauty) and financial prudence. The Grimms selected additional tales to publish in later editions that presented and commented on such matches. For example, a tailor in "The Gifts of the Little Folk" ("Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes," 182) asks for only enough gold from the fairies he meets to satisfy his domestic dreams: "'Now I will become a master [tailor], marry my cozy little item (as he called his sweetheart) and be a happy man.'"[112] He is marked as a virtuous man not only by his lack of greed but also by his eagerness to settle down in responsible matrimony with a loving wife. This tale was only added to the collection for the sixth edition of 1850. Similarly, in "The Nixie in the Pond" ("Die Nixe im Teich," 181), a huntsman's apprentice falls in love with a "beautiful and truehearted maiden" in the village. To his good fortune, "when his lord perceived this, he gave him a small house; the two of them held a wedding, lived peacefully and happily and loved each other wholeheartedly."[113] Added to the *KHM* for the fifth edition in 1843, the tale presents romance in conjunction with a traditional, prudent union.

The "Kinderwunsch"

New visions of parent-child relations and family formation came together in the primacy of reproduction as part of the family sociology of the *KHM*. While the desire to have a child drove the narrative in many of the tales chosen by the Grimms, as the brothers edited their collection, they further highlighted the importance of childbirth. This theme itself certainly predates the *KHM*. But the Grimms translated it to a modern paradigm of valuing an individual child for an emotion relationship rather than economic potential. Fairy tales present perhaps the most literal realization of (to borrow Viviana Zelizer's useful

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[112] "'jetzt werde ich Meister, heirathe meinen angenehmen Gegenstand (wie er seine Liebste nannte) und bin ein glücklicher Mann.'" *KHM* 1857, 2: 360.

[113] "ein schönes und treues Mädchen...und als sein Herr das bemerkte, schenkte er ihm ein kleines Haus; die beiden hielten Hochzeit, lebten ruhig und glücklich und liebten sich von Herzen." *KHM* 1857, 2: 354.

formulation) the "pricelessness" of children, a key marker of Western modernity. Fairy tale characters pay enormous, impossible costs to acquire children, enacting the idealization of a sentimental parent-child relationship as emotionally priceless among European middle and upper classes. Several stories open with *der Kinderwunsch* (wish for a child), or the climax occurs in the realization of child-longing. Across stories, there is an implicit assumption that a childless couple must want a son or daughter. Birth is clearly positioned as a precious event in these tales, something that the Grimms heightened across the editions by choosing different sources and refining the tales through editing.

The importance of this theme was evident in the closing of many tales. What is a fairy-tale happy ending? For twenty-first-century readers, the answer is obvious: a wedding. Yet the culmination of romantic love was hardly the most common conclusion to the tales recorded and revised by the Grimms. In fact, after the hero rescued the heroine (or vice versa) and all was settled with the young people's parents, the tale usually continued past the marriage to a birth. Often the birth and its consequences dominated a story. Why was reproduction or childbirth such a central theme in a collection that today has become synonymous with love stories?

The Kinderwunsch theme also manifested in the opening of many tales. "Rapunzel" and "Snow White" are both examples of tales whose action is driven by intense longing for a child in the Grimms' versions, despite the emphasis on their romantic storylines in versions familiar today. Barrenness is sometimes presented as a moral failing, as in "The Donkey" ("Das Eselein," 144), and children are several times compared to "all the treasures of the world" in various tales of the *KHM*.[114] Finally, the Kinderwunsch resulted in the fairy tale trope of strange adoptions, in which couples are so desperate for children that they

[114] See, for example, Rumpelstiltskin and "The Three Sisters" ("Die drei Schwestern," 82).

accept a child "only the size of a thumb" or a baby found in a bird's nest.[115] This may seem to run counter to another common fairy tale theme, that of child abandonment. As with other ambiguities in the *KHM*, one explanation is that the collection is caught in a transition between viewing the child as another mouth to feed (for some) and as emotionally priceless (for others). I also argue that in tales of child abandonment the wickedness of the villains is in fact heightened by their disposal of what the Grimms have emphasized as a precious gift.

While the importance of bearing children was thus already a prominent theme in the fairy tales from the first publication, the Grimms emphasized this through their editing choices. For example, in the original 1812 opening of "The Carnation" ("Die Nelke," 76), the drama is concerned with courtly love and marriage, but is transformed into a story of longing for children in the 1819 revision. The first version of the tale starts with a king who refuses to marry until one day he falls in love at first sight through the window. The result of this union is mentioned only by "after the lapse of a year she bore a prince."[116] For the 1819 edition, the Grimms replaced the entire opening love story with a paragraph describing the childless queen's prayers to God for a son or daughter. To heighten the drama they inserted the phrase, "our Lord had prevented her from bearing any children."[117]

The blessings of children or the Kinderwunsch as story catalyst were similarly developed across editions in "The Gold-Children" ("Die Goldkinder," 85) and "Hans My Hedgehog" ("Hans mein Igel," 108). In "The Gold-Children," a poor man hooks a golden fish three times. To be released, the magic fish gives him a palace and a bottomless food pantry. But the ultimate treasure, which the fisher receives on the third catch, is two golden

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[115] "nur Daumens groß" 1857, 1: 206. Among others, this category includes "Thumbling" ("Daumesdick," 37), "The Three Little Birds" ("De drei Vügelkens," 96), "Foundling Bird" ("Fundvogel," 51), "The Devil With the Three Gold Hairs" ("Der Teufel mit dem drei goldenen Haaren," 29).
[116] "Nach Verlauf eines Jahrs gebar sie einen Prinzen…" Die Nelke," *KHM* 1812/15, 1: 351.
[117] "…die hatte unser Herr Gott verschlossen, daß sie keine Kinder gebar." *KHM* 1819, 1:272.

lilies in his yard, two golden foals in the stable—and two golden children borne by the man's wife. The fish promises these gifts directly in the earliest 1812 edition:

> "Listen," [the fish] said, just take me home with you, and chop me into six pieces there; give two to your wife to eat, two to your horse, and plant two in the soil. You will receive blessings from them, your wife will bring two golden youths into the world, the horse will have two golden foals, and two golden lilies will grow up from the earth.[118]

But for the 1819 edition, the Grimms made more of these miracles through a delayed, more elaborate sequence:

> "Listen," spoke the fish, "I see that I will probably keep falling into your hands. Take me home with you and chop me into six pieces. Give two of them to your wife to eat, two to your horse, and plant two in the soil, and then you will receive blessings from them." The man took the fish home and did as he had told him. And it came to pass that from the two pieces that had been planted in the soil, two golden lilies grew up, and that the horse had two golden foals, and the fisher's wife bore two children who were entirely golden.[119]

By keeping the outcome of chopping the fish a surprise, the golden children's arrival became a more special moment.

In "Hans My Hedgehog," a childless farmer is mocked by his friends and wishes for even a hedgehog child out of his exasperation. In 1815, the first line simply read "There was a rich farmer who had no children with his wife."[120] But this was elaborated for the 1850 and subsequent editions as, "There was once a farmer who had money and property enough, but as rich as he was, there was still something missing for his happiness: he had no children

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[118] "'hör, sagte das, nimm mich nur mit nach Haus, und zerschneid mich dort in sechs Stücke; zwei gieb deiner Frau zu essen, zwei deinem Pferd, und zwei pflanz' in die Erde, du wirst Segen davon haben, deine Frau wird zwei goldene Jungen zur Welt bringen, das Pferd wird zwei goldene Füllen bekommen, und aus der Erde werden zwei goldene Lilien aufwachsen.'" *KHM* 1812/15, 1: 291-92.

[119] "'Hör, sprach der Fisch, ich sehe wohl, ich soll in deine Hände fallen, nimm mich mit nach Haus und zerschneid mich in sechs Stücke, zwei davon gib deiner Frau zu essen, zwei deinem Pferd und zwei leg in die Erde, so wirst du Segen davon haben.' Der Mann nahm den Fisch mit nach Haus, und that, wie er ihm gesagt hatte. Es geschah aber, daß aus den zwei Stücken, die in die Erde gelegt waren, zwei goldene Lilien aufwuchsen, und daß das Pferd zwei goldene Füllen bekam, und des Fischers Frau zwei Kinder gebar, die ganz golden waren." *KHM* 1819.

[120] "Es war ein reicher Bauer, der hatte mit seiner Frau keine Kinder." *KHM* 1812/15, 2: 124.

with his wife."[121] Through this kind of modern stylistic adjustment, childlessness was marked not only as a character trait but emphasized as emotionally painful or even unnatural.

In these tales, an intense personal desire for children among those who are childless often derives from envying more morally exemplary parents. Maria Tatar has noted that "the longing for a child can be read as the desire for renewal, transformation, and rejuvenation."[122] But while the symbolic significance of this ubiquitous Kinderwunsch is interesting, there is also a strongly literal aspect of the emphasis on stories about pregnancy and childbirth: longing for and prizing individual children was a key virtue in the new sentimental ideology of the family.

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[121] "Es war einmal ein Bauer, der hatte Geld und Gut genug, aber wie reich er war, so fehlte doch etwas an seinem Glück: er hatte mit seiner Frau keine Kinder." *KHM* 1857, 2: 108.

[122] Maria Tatar, *The Annotated Brothers Grimm* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 234.

Coda: Fairy Tales in Practice

This final section of the chapter offers some preliminary thoughts about young people's responses to fairy tales. I have argued that in their deliberate crafting of family sociology and attention to audience, the Grimms reshaped their collection over time in ways that furthered the emergence of the active child reader. But children's agency also surfaces in the history of fairy tales through the genre's especially close ties to an oral tradition, which produced ambiguous effects in those reading and listening to such stories. I seek to move here from investigating how fairy tales worked as a *genre* for educating children to how fairy tales worked in *practice* as they were read, heard, and retold by children themselves. This iteration of the task is speculative. My initial evidence draws on the features of the European fairy tale tradition in general and the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in particular—plastic, memetic, and transgressive—that invited children to make their own interpretations and adaptations.[123]

The plasticity of the fairy tale form made these stories open to endless retellings and substantially different interpretations by readers. We can see this in the diversity of adaptations for canonical tales such as "Red Riding Hood." As Jack Zipes and Alan Dundes in particular have shown, the recognizable core of this story has appeared in many guises, and been subjected to wildly different critical lenses.[124] Many German children who read the *KHM* were likely also exposed to Charles Perrault's version, if not other poetic renditions by Tieck or Mörike. But more importantly, they also had access to a varied oral tradition of

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[123] One possible extension of this study would investigate these questions through evidence gathered across nineteenth-century memoirs and other personal narratives, exploring how practices of reading and telling fairy tales figured in childhood experiences and memory.

[124] Alan Dundes, ed., *Little Red Riding Hood: A Case Book* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Jack Zipes, *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Rotkäppchen stories.[125] Comparing the differences in the recorded versions, even simply between Perrault and Grimm, immediately reveals some of the choices children had in their own telling, retelling, misremembering, and reinvention of Red Riding Hood. For example, the moral of the story could be altered or amplified; the titular character's power to rescue herself or not from the wolf could be weighed; the ending could be triumphant or tragic; and colorful details about the wolf, the girl, the grandmother, and the setting could be endlessly embellished. These potential variations demand that we take into account the role of imagination as child readers learned and "thought with" those tales.

Fairy tales are also memetic. Here, I am in part taking up recent work by Jack Zipes that applies the sociobiological theory of memetics to explain the transmission and popularity of fairy tales.[126] He describes the fairy tale meme as "a cultural artifact that acts as a cultural replicator or cultural adaptor that manages to inhabit our brains [becoming] so memorable and relevant that we store it and pass it on to others."[127] For my purposes, I use the term in a looser sense to describe the interchangeable tropes, stock characters, set phrases and idioms, and other characteristics of fairy tales that make them familiar and easy to remember. Through nearly five decades of revisions, the Grimms gradually incorporated more and more of these memetic features into their collection. They also added extra endings to originally shorter tales (for example, the punishment of the villain, or a detailed description of the wedding), endings which look remarkably similar across different

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[125] For a taste of this earlier tradition, see Paul Delarue's synthetic tale "The Story of Grandmother," in Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenèze, *Le conte populaire français: Catalogue raisonnée des versions de France* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2002).

[126] For a provocative engagement with both Zipes and Richard Dawkins, from whom folklore research has drawn this concept, see Gregory Schrempp, "Taking the Dawkins Challenge, or, The Dark Side of the Meme," *Journal of Folklore Research* 46, no. 1 (2009): 91-100.

[127] Jack Zipes, "What Makes a Repulsive Frog so Appealing: Memetics and Fairy Tales," *Journal of Folklore Research* 45, no. 2 (2008): 110.

stories.[128] This made it possible for readers to anticipate where the story was going, and engage actively in the transactional experience of reading. Objects or encounters arriving in "threes," the use of rhyming verse, and predictable actions from familiar character types allowed child listeners or readers to predict the plot. Consider the dwarfs returning home to find Snow White in their cottage:

> The first spoke: "Who has been sitting on my little chair?"
> The second: "Who has been eating off my little plate?"
> The third: "Who has been taking from my roll?"
> The fourth: "Who has been eating from my vegetables?"
> The fifth: "Who has been jabbing with my little fork?"
> The sixth: "Who has been cutting with my little knife?"
> The seventh: "Who has been drinking from my little cup?"[129]

Whether by joining in with this rhythm or simply guessing what came next, children could participate in the telling or reading of a story (despite the odd and fantastic logic of fairy tale land).

This memetic nature in both literary and oral traditions furthermore facilitates children's reconstruction of fairy tales, making it easy for young people to retell their own versions later. A Russian writer of this era, Alexander Vel'tman (1800-1870), recollected an early memory regarding the uses of folklore:

> With me was Uncle Boris; he was moreover a great shoemaker and an amazing storyteller. To watch over a lively boy and sew shoes at the same time would have been impossible; therefore, sitting at the bench, he deftly

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[128] For example, each of the following stories ends with a similar account of the villain dragged in a barrel filled either with boiling oil or nails: ""The Twelve Brothers," "The Goose Girl," and "The Three Little Men in the Wood." This was already true in the case of "The Twelve Brothers" and "The Goose Girl" but the punishment was added to "The Three Little Gnomes in the Forest," where the evildoers in the 1812 version had simply been left out for wild animals to eat.

[129] "Der erste sprach: 'Wer hat auf meinem Stühlchen gegessen?' Der zweite: 'Wer hat von meinem Tellerchen gegessen?' Der dritte: 'Wer hat von meinem Brötchen genommen?' Der vierte: 'Wer hat von meinem Gemüschen gegessen?' Der fünfte: 'Wer hat mit meinem Gäbelchen gestochen?' Der sechste: 'Wer hat mit meinem Messerchen geschnitten?' Der siebente: 'Wer hat aus meinem Becherlein getrunken?'" *KHM* 1857, 1: 264.

> tied me to himself with a long tale, little considering that over time, I too would become a storyteller.[130]

Becoming a professional author in adulthood was not the only way for children to respond to fairy tales in making these stories their own. It is useful to remember that many of the approximately 270 tales in the *KHM* are basically variations of the same tale type. In other words, the *KHM* presented not only stock characters but also stock phrases, stock episodes, even "stock plots" for child readers' creative reimagining.

Furthermore, when compared with the moralistic stories (*Erzählungen*) included in the periodicals that I discussed in Chapter 2, fairy tales present a key difference around this question of child storytellers. In the periodicals, such stories often include adults writing "in drag" as children. For example, an adult author might model diary writing or correspondence through a fictional model child's first-person example. These were generally lengthy and overly sophisticated, with erudite, polished prose. In the fairy tales, by contrast, which were obviously much less realistic than the settings presented in youth periodicals, the Grimms actually modeled a kind of non-linear, unpolished, repetitive storytelling that may in fact give us a much better reflection of children's reality as tellers and consumers of stories. This was especially apparent in the earlier editions of the *KHM*, before the prose was cleaned up and stylized, but it holds true in many tales of the 1857 edition as well. For example, of the two related stories which the Grimms published jointly under the title "Clever Hans" ("Der Gescheite Hans," 32) in 1812, they only retained the first one, which is entirely composed in a choppy dialogue style reminiscent of a young narrator's "and then he says....and then she says..." approach:

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[130] Quoted in Iurii Akutin, "Aleksandr Vel'tman i ego roman 'Strannik'", an afterword to A. F. Vel'tman, *Strannik* [The Wanderer] (Moscow: Nauka, 1978), pp. 248-49. Thanks to Stephen Bruce for the recommendation and translation.

> Hans's mother says, "Where are you going, Hans?" Hans answers: "to Gretel's." — "Do well, Hans." — "Do alright, good-bye mother." — Hans comes to Gretel's: "Good day, Gretel." — "Good day, Hans: what good things are you bringing me?" — "Bringing nothing, give something." Gretel gives Hans a needle, Hans says: "Goodbye, Gretel." — "Goodbye, Hans." — Hans takes the needle and sticks it in a hay wagon and goes home behind it. "Good evening, mother." — "Good evening, Hans, where have you been?" — "At Gretel's." — "What did you bring her?" — "Brought nothing, was given." — "What did she give you?" — "Gave a needle." — "Where do you have the needle, Hans?" — "Stuck in the hay wagon." — "You did that stupidly, should have stuck it in a sleeve."[131]

The rest of the story continues in this fashion. Other examples throughout the *KHM* mirror the fragmented, repetitive mode of many child storytellers.

One memetic feature in the *KHM* was the Grimms' addition of explicit morals to gloss some tales, in the style of a fable. Sometimes these were straightforward, such as the closing proverb "eile mit weile" (essentially "haste makes waste") at the end of "The Nail" ("Der Nagel," 184).[132] The Grimms often explicitly interpreted the action with a narrator's commentary on the virtues or flaws of particular character choices. But what should we make of the effects of this instructional mode for child readers? It seems reasonable to suppose that some readers simply skipped over such moments, or read them as part of the background fabric in a fairy tale rather than a lesson to be intentionally absorbed. In other cases, the use of a moral served the playful spirit of fairy tales, while still invoking a didactic style. This happens in "The Clever Servant" ("Der kluge Knecht," 162) one of the many tales of foolish and disobedient servants, which closes with this address to the reader: "Take an example from this: do not distress yourself about your master and his orders, do

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[131] "Hansens Mutter spricht: 'Wohin, Hans?' Hans antwortet: 'Zur Gretel.' — 'Mach's gut, Hans.' — 'Schon gut machen, Adies, Mutter.' — Hans kommt zur Gretel: 'Guten Tag, Gretel.' — 'Guten Tag, Hans: was bringst du Gutes?' — 'Bring nichts, gegeben han.' — Gretel schenkt dem Hans eine Nadel, Hans spricht: 'Adies, Gretel.' — 'Adies, Hans.' — Hans nimmt die Nadel und steckt sie in einen Heuwagen und geht hinterher nach Haus. 'Guten Abend, Mutter.' — 'Guten Abend, Hans, wo bist du gewesen?' — 'Bei der Gretel.' — 'Was hast du ihr gebracht?' — 'Nichts gebracht, gegeben hat.' — 'Was hat sie dir gegeben?' — 'Nadel gegeben.' — 'Wo hast du die Nadel, Hans?' — 'In Heuwagen gesteckt.' — 'Das hast du dumm gemacht, mußt's an Ärmel stecken.' — 'Tut nichts, besser machen.'" *KHM* 1812/15, 2: 93.

[132] *KHM* 1857, 2: 364.

instead whatever comes to mind and whatever you feel like. Then you will proceed just as wisely as clever Hans."[133] The subtext certainly still aims toward recommending obedience, but it may also be read simply as part of a sarcastic joke about this stock character of a silly peasant.

Even when not encouraged by an ironic or sarcastic tone, subversive readings of fairy tale messages were not only possible but almost necessitated by some plots. How was a reasonable child supposed to interpret stories such as the odd "religious" tale, "The Virgin Mary's Child" ("Marienkind," 3)? In this tale, the Virgin Mary, who stands in for some sort of philanthropic patron, rescues the daughter of a woodcutter from poverty.[134] The little girl grows up in heaven with the Virgin Mary, but inevitably succumbs to the temptation to open a forbidden door (revealing the Holy Trinity). When her crime is discovered, the Virgin Mary expels her from heaven: "You have not listened to me, and you have lied at that, you are no longer worthy to be in Heaven."[135] In an old misogynistic mode, the obedience this child owed her mother figure was thus set in opposition to curiosity and pride. Even after being abandoned, the girl refuses to confess. Only at the final hour, after a series of events that almost cause her to burn at the stake, does she change her mind. As the Grimms told it, "when she was lashed to a stake and the fire began to burn all around her, then the hard ice of pride melted, and her heart was moved by remorse."[136] But is the virtue of unquestioning obedience the only possible message to take from this story? Even accounting for a twenty-

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[133] "Nehmt euch daran ein Beispiel, bekümmert euch nicht um euern Herrn und seine Befehle, tut lieber, was euch einfällt und wozu ihr Lust habt, dann werdet ihr ebenso weise handeln wie der kluge Hans." *KHM* 1857, 2: 286.

[134] The strange position of the Virgin Mary in this tale may be a critique of Catholic piety, but it has also been read through other lenses. See, for example, G. Ronald Murphy, *The Owl, the Raven, and the Dove: The Religious Meaning of the Grimms' Magic Fairy Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[135] "Da sprach die Jungfrau Maria 'du hast mir nicht gehorcht, und hast noch dazu gelogen, du bist nicht mehr würdig im Himmel zu sein.'" *KHM* 1857, 1: 38.

[136] "Das Holz wurde zusammengetragen, und als sie an einen Pfahl festgebunden war und das Feuer rings umher zu brennen anfieng, da schmolz das harte Eis des Stolzes und ihr Herz ward von Reue bewegt..." *KHM* 1857, 1: 41.

first century filter, the extreme punishment inflicted on this child seems ludicrously out of proportion and cruelly delivered, perhaps undermining the very authority promoted on the surface of the tale.

Obedience was painted as a seemingly virtuous choice in fairy tales even when the adult demanding a child's obedience was wicked. For example in "The Three Little Gnomes in the Forest" ("Die drei Männlein im Walde," 13), the envious and cruel stepmother forces her stepdaughter to look for strawberries in winter while wearing a paper dress:

> "Dear lord!" said the girl. "Strawberries do not grow in winter, the ground is frozen, and snow has covered everything. And why should I go in a paper dress? It is so cold outdoors that my breath freezes: The wind will blow right through the dress, and the thorns will tear it off my body." "Do you still want to answer back to me?" the stepmother said...she thought, "She will freeze to death outside and starve, and will never more come before my eyes. Now the girl was obedient, so she put on the paper dress and went out with the little basket.[137]

This protagonist is rewarded for her blind obedience. When she encounters some odd gnomes in the forest, she immediately begins to do whatever they tell her. That tractability earns her three gifts from the gnomes, of beauty, gold, and a king for a husband. But were child readers likely or even expected to respond in the same way to obedience stories featuring loving parents versus cruel or ridiculous ones? Did despotic parental behavior undermine the respect owed these figures enough to produce potentially seditious readings? One of the strangest tales in this family of "extreme obedience" plots is "The Obstinate Child" ("Das eigensinnige Kind," 117), a story of less than 125 words. It tells of a son who dies of disobedience, after which his little arm refuses to stay in his grave until his mother

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[137] "'Du lieber Gott,' sagte das Mädchen, 'im Winter wachsen ja keine Erdbeeren, die Erde ist gefroren, und der Schnee hat auch alles zugedeckt. Und warum soll ich in dem Papierkleide gehen? es ist draußen so kalt, daß einem der Athem friert: da weht ja der Wind hindurch und die Dornen reißen mirs vom Leib.' 'Willst du mir noch widersprechen?' sagte die Stiefmutter, 'mach daß du fortkommst, und laß dich nicht eher wieder sehen als bis du das Körbchen voll Erdbeeren hast.' Dann gab sie ihm noch ein Stückchen hartes Brot und sprach 'davon kannst du den Tag über essen,' und dachte 'draußen wirds erfrieren und verhungern und mir nimmermehr wieder vor die Augen kommen.' Nun war das Mädchen gehorsam, that das Papierkleid an und gieng mit dem Körbchen hinaus." *KHM* 1857, 1: 92.

hits it with a rod—"and then the child first had peace under the earth."[138] What effect could reading this horror story really have had on child readers' self-perception and their relationships with adults? Were stories of fantastically stubborn or submissive children and repressive or firm parents intended, to quote Jane Austen, "to recommend parental tyranny, or reward filial disobedience"?[139] This is not the place for a definitive answer, but uncovering these aspects of the texts themselves that provoke questions of reasonable response allows us to imagine a range of unexpected readings. Indeed, the analysis might go further. Are these most extreme tales set up to provoke subversive or resistant readings by children? And in that case, can we still call such responses subversive? The adults who promoted these tales may have themselves been conflicted about the value and pleasure of reading such moments, in their departure from the more conventional moral "messages." How do we reconcile these possibilities with the Grimms' pedagogic project?

One kind of subversive or even seditious reading provoked by these fairy tales related to transgressive humor as an antidote to the politics of bourgeois respectability discussed earlier in the chapter. This humor of fairy tales provided more openings for the child reader's laughter than did other genres examined in this dissertation, especially through sexual and scatological themes. What moral message of the *KHM* as "Erziehungsbuch," for example, was a child supposed to derive from the donkey in "The Magic Table, the Golden Donkey, and the Club in the Sack," who spits out gold pieces in front and behind? Or consider this moment "Thumbling":

> "'Lift me down. It is necessary.' 'Just stay up there,' said the man on whose head he sat. 'I do not mind it, the birds also sometimes let something fall

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[138] "Da mußte die Mutter selbst zum Grabe gehn und mit der Rute aufs Ärmchen schlagen, und wie sie das getan hatte, zog es sich hinein, und das Kind hatte nun erst Ruhe unter der Erde." *KHM* 1857, 2: 247-48.
[139] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1817; repr., Rockville, Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008), 179.

> down on me.' 'No,' said Thumbling. 'I also know what is becoming: just quickly lift me down from here.'"[140]

While we might not consider the child's enjoyment of this bawdy humor subversive when seemingly prompted by the text itself, this aspect of the reading experience nevertheless transgresses the cultivation of virtues presented as a central aim by the Grimms and demands more attention in its effects specifically on young readers. How does it complicate our understanding of the Grimms' pedagogic project that they consciously chose to include and retain moments like this in their *Erziehungsbuch*?

Another possibility for subversive readings lay in the role of magic and fantasy, in the strange, miraculous happenings of fairy tale country. What part did that essential and mysterious element of the imagination play in shaping child readers' responses to the *KHM*? The fairy tale sits at the intersection of more directly didactic forms (like Enlightenment periodicals) and the celebration of children's pleasure asserted by today's literature for young people. In her study of *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, Rosemary Jackson writes that "The fantastic traces the unsaid and the unseen of culture: that which has been silenced, made invisible, covered over and made 'absent'."[141] At the same time, however, she calls for a robust historical approach to contextualize the writing of fantasy within its social reality. This seems to offer a fruitful approach both for further developing a sociohistorical understanding of fairy tales and for thinking through their subversive power for readers. This direction also invites similar questions about wish fulfillment and romance, and the ways in which reading fairy tales may have offered an escape from realism into a world of fortune-finding and Cinderella stories.

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[140] "So giengen sie bis es dämmerig ward, da sprach der Kleine 'hebt mich einmal herunter, es ist nöthig.' 'Bleib nur droben,' sprach der Mann, auf dessen Kopf er saß, 'ich will mir nichts draus machen, die Vögel lassen mir auch manchmal was drauf fallen.' 'Nein,' sprach Daumesdick, 'ich weiß auch, was sich schickt: hebt mich nur geschwind herab.'" *KHM* 1857, 1: 208.

[141] Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London: Methuen, 1981), 3-4.

It has been a frequent observation throughout this dissertation that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pedagogues were increasingly concerned not only with instruction but also with amusement. This pedagogic drive to capture children's attention through entertaining stories can be seen from another vantage point, however: with the rise of amusement literature, it is also true that these fairy tales simply offered child readers pleasure. They are fun to read. I suggest that it is possible to seek, as Jackson writes, "to understand what might be going on under the cover of this pleasure" and to remember at the same time our own formative and present encounters with fairy tales—mysterious, funny, romantic, frightening, or magical as they might be.[142]

The very development of the fairy tale genre as a powerful engine of children's book publishing that continues to dominate the market itself demonstrates the emergence of the active child reader. Folklorists and literary fairy tale writers, including the Grimms, appropriated an adult oral tradition and literary genre in order to remake them in a specialized form for an educated middle-class child audience. At the same time, ambiguities and contradictions persisted in the messages those readers—enchanted or skeptical, compliant or defiant—might internalize. This chapter has considered fairy tales as one form of middle-class domestic fiction (a publishing sector that rose to critical importance over the nineteenth century). Nevertheless, a living oral tradition on big screens, through urban legends, and in children's rooms has continued alongside the development of the Grimms' dominance and is part of the reason why fairy tales still matter for understanding childhood today.

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[142] Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy*, 10.

CHAPTER 4
Reading the World: The Geographic Education of German Children

In this chapter, I investigate a third example of changing children's literacy practices: the emergence of the active child reader through geography education. Children's reading began to be placed in the world in ways illustrated by the following passage, drawn from the memoir of a man growing up in the 1840s. The author painted a humble but cozy picture of his self-taught great-grandfather and grandmother reading to one another by the light of a gas lamp, most often from a large volume titled:

> *Der Hakawati*
> or, *The Storyteller in Asia, Africa, Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and India, including an appendix with annotations,* explantio *and* interpretatio, *also many comparisons and figures* by Christianus Kretzschmann, who was from Germania. Printed by Wilhelmus Candidus.

He wrote that "this book contained a number of meaningful oriental tales, which were not found in any other collection. [Grandmother's]...favorite tale was the fable of Sitara; later it also became mine, because it treated the geography and the ethnology of our earth and its inhabitants purely ethically."[1] Taken by itself, the passage reflects some features of the modern German imagination of the world, such as the the importance of reading and storytelling in childhood memories and the romance of the German "colonial fantasy."[2] But the source of this anecdote is more interesting still.

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[1] "Der Hakawati d.i. der Märchenerzähler in Asia, Africa, Turkia, Arabia, Persia und India sampt eyn Anhang mit Deytung, explantio und interpretatio auch viele Vergleychung und Figürlich seyn von Christianus Kretzchmann der aus Germania war. Gedruckt von Wilhelmus Candidus. A.D: M.D.C.V. Dieses Buch enthielt eine Menge bedeutungsvoller orientalischer Märchen, die sich bisher in keiner andern Märchensammlung befanden. Großmutter kannte diese Märchen alle. Sie erzählte sie gewöhnlich wörtlich gleichlautend; aber in gewissen Fällen, in denen sie es für nötig hielt, gab sie Aenderungen und Anwendungen, aus denen zu ersehen war, daß sie den Geist dessen, was sie erzählte, sehr wohl kannte und ihn genau wirken ließ. Ihr Lieblingsmärchen war das Märchen von Sitara; es wurde später auch das meinige, weil es die Geographie und Ethnologie unserer Erde und ihrer Bewohner rein ethisch behandelt." Karl May, *Mein Leben und Streben: Selbstbiographie*, ed. 1 (Freiburg: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1910), 22.

[2] See Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

The memoirist was Karl May, whose travel and adventure novels not only dominated the youth and mass market reading of the late nineteenth century, but continue to circulate in Germany today because of the popularity of Western films and the figure of the American Indian that May invented. And as astute readers may have guessed, this entire account is fiction. No such book seems to exist.[3] The supposed author's name, "Christianus Kretzchmann," invokes May's paternal grandmother, Christiane Kretzschmar, while "Candidus" references his mother's maiden name (which was Weise, the German translation of the Latin "white"). May's family legacy is thus coded in this imaginary book, a self that is constituted by reading.[4] May's personal myth of his first literary encounter with the world, chosen to open the story of his life, marks a particular understanding of how German children were expected to learn about the world which developed at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. It was characterized by the European desire for the exotic, the cultivation of individual imagination, a subjectivity formed through stories about faraway places, and the centrality of geographic orientation to early childhood literacy.

As with periodicals and fairy tales, a new geographic education for children was just emerging in the years around 1800. Students in the eighteenth century still trudged through the purely descriptive approach to geography in rigid, memorization-driven instruction. By the middle of the nineteenth century, developments in pedagogic philosophy met discursive shifts in geographic epistemology in the fashioning of a modern approach to geographic education. The discipline became understood as a social science concerned with the dynamic relationship between humans and nature, which demanded an active, problem-based

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[3] Marlies Bugmann, *Savage to Saint: The Karl May Story* (published by author, 2008), 2.

[4] The opening words of May's autobiography (*Mein Leben und Streben*) are not "I was born..." but rather a "retelling" of the Fable of Sitara (an orientalist story mostly of May's invention). The tale is set in an imaginary world just like ours except that the landmasses form a Pangaea. The physical connection of these diverse places worked as a geographic fantasy for a travel writer who famously never traveled until the end of his life. Only after this opening tale does May move to recounting his "real" personal history.

pedagogy. An examination of geographic textbooks and schooling during this period turns up a number of distinctive features: growing concern for child readers' amusement, an association of learning about the world with the family and the home, the orientation of children in space as explorers and armchair travelers, an increased emphasis on map-reading and the use of atlases in schools, increasingly gender-segregated reading, and the influence of German romantic nationalism and colonial ambitions. Such seemingly unrelated characteristics and changes could be explained by a shift in geographic epistemology—or historical conditions concerning race and world networks — or economic or technological changes. Nevertheless, I argue that the story of geography most saliently captures the ways in which German education witnessed the emergence of the active child reader.

How do we explain the set of developments which transformed German geography education in the years around 1800? This chapter uses the case of geographic schoolbooks and instructional practices to investigate changes in German ideas about learning, with a particular interest in the part that reading played in those changing ideas.[5] What work did geographic texts do as part of wider developments in children's literacy practices—the specialization, subjectivization, and sentimentalization of bourgeois childhood education? How was the world depicted for children in these texts shaped and embodied—especially the imagined spaces of "Deutschland," Europe, and the world? What role did race, religion, nationalism, revolutionary politics, and the colonial imagination play in geographic education, and how did those political categories intersect and shift into the nineteenth century? How were expectations about what boys and girls should learn of the world

[5] Historians of education and reading have rightly cautioned that a "book history" approach can restrict our field-of-view to the "intended reader" versus the "the real reader." See, for example, Arianne Baggerman, "The Moral of the Story: Children's Reading and the Catechism of Nature around 1800," in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800*, ed. by Pamela H. Smith & Benjamin Schmidt, 143-62 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). But for all their limits as a record of specific lived educational experiences, these textbooks reveal much about both developing pedagogical philosophies and probable reading practices of children themselves.

gendered? How did the forms of geographic schoolbooks change over this period, and what might that indicate about changes in children's reading experiences? How did schoolbook reading position children in local, national, and global orientations through active reading?

After an introduction to the genre of geographic schoolbooks from the late eighteenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century, the chapter is divided into two parts: the *practices* and the *content* of children's geographic education. In the first part, I explore how authors of geographic schoolbooks imagined their young readers and how those books could be used in practice. In the second part, I turn to the content to show how children were located in the world through their education and how that world was shaped.

Introduction to the Genre of Geographic Schoolbooks

Geographic epistemology in the schoolroom

Changing geographic epistemology at the end of the Enlightenment held implications for the development of the nation state, imperialism, and other forms of state power, and shaped nascent ethnological discourse in Europe.[6] Alongside rising interest in geography as an academic discipline, geography instruction become a formalized part of school curricula, incorporated alongside the classics, mathematics, and religion.[7] Though pedagogical opinions varied on the ideal role of experience and exploration, cartography and atlases, and teachers' lectures, the reading of books was consistently prized as a primary path to geographic comprehension. As a market for schoolbooks specially designed for children grew in the eighteenth century, this fed and was fueled by increasingly explicit ideologies about children's specialized education.[8] Geography textbook author Georg Christian Raff declared in his 1776 opening address to his child audience that "children learn twice as much if they also read what their teacher says."[9] In his preface to the same book, Johann Georg Heinrich Feder argued that children need books to improve their attentiveness and entertain them. But the part that reading played in children's study of geography was more complicated than it seems, as Feder revealed in the same passage:

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[6] For an examination of the professional development of geography, including how the critical epistemic shifts in this period continue to prescribe spatial thinking today, see Iris Schröder, *Das Wissen von der ganzen Welt: Globale Geographien und räumliche Ordnungen Afrikas und Europas 1790-1870* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2011). For connections between geographical literacy and identity formation beyond the professional discipline, see Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[7] This is in contrast to the medieval curriculum of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

[8] Jürgen Oelkers, "Elementary Textbooks in the 18th Century and Their Theory of the Learning Child" in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi et al., 409-32 (2008).

[9] "Kinder lernen zweimal soviel, wenn sie das auch lesen, was ihnen ihr Lehrer sagt." Raff (1776), 2. Rather than covering the world, this book provides the geography of Europe and Russia in two parts. It went through multiple editions from 1776 to 1792 in Göttingen, including a posthumous publication by the well-known pedagogue Christian Carl Andre. I suggest one reason for its continued popularity into the nineteenth century was the sentimental approach to the child readers.

> On the first journey around the world, for example, perhaps nothing more can be observed than that we live in this land and other people speak our language, [whereas] in that land [live] black people, great apes, elephants, etc., from that land comes coffee and sugar, this or that sort of wine popular with students, from here the first potatoes came, from that country or city comes a famous person, and so on. For this no particular textbook is needed.[10]

In Feder's model, the earliest-formed notions of space, the world, its peoples and nature were built not from literacy but on shared common wisdom such as tales from "the land of black people, apes, and elephants." And indeed, while the geographic discourse in which children grew up may not have been as systematic as Feder's discussion of natural resources and trade routes, stories heard in early childhood contributed to young people's geographic understanding well before they encountered geography textbooks.

Historical factors which contributed to upheavals in geographic thought included the map-scrambling Napoleonic wars, the beginnings of colonial knowledge production, scientific advancements in geology and paleontology, and intensifying travel activities in a world of improved roads, ships, and postal networks.[11] Instrument-aided empiricism was another crucial development that brought about discursive shifts in geographic education. As historians Charles Withers and David Livingstone write, "the acquisition of geographical knowledge about faraway peoples and places also raised crucial epistemological questions of testimony and trust."[12] Despite the continued popularity of travel narratives as a source of

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[10] "Bei der ersten Reise durch die Welt z.B. wird vielleicht weiter nichts bemerkt werden können, als daß in diesem Lande wir wohnen, und andere Leute die unsere Sprache reden, in dem Lande schwarze Leute, grosse Affen, Elefanten, &c. aus dem Coffee und Zucker, diese oder jene dem Lehrlinge bekannte Sorte Wein kommt, aus jenem die ersten Kartoffel gekommen sind, aus dem Lande oder der Stadt die bekannte Person, u.s.w. Hierzu ist kein besonderes Lehrbuch nötig." Ibid., vi-vii.

[11] Thomas Nipperdey perhaps summed up the absolutely fundamental importance of Napoleon to this period of German history best with the opening sentence of his 800+ page survey: "Am Anfang war Napoleon." (In the beginning was Napoleon.) *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich: Beck, 1983), 11. On the German colonial imagination in the eighteenth century, see Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* (1997). On the eighteenth-century revolution in technologies of knowledge (including the languages of science, statistics, cartography, encyclopedias, and the postal system), see Daniel Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[12] Charles W. J. Withers and David N. Livingstone, introduction to *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 19.

knowledge production about the world beyond Europe, measurement and empirical analysis also grew in importance for geographers. In a study of the German "geographic imagination," Chenxi Tang traces how the move toward measurement-based science overwhelmed the topical approach to geographic study with endless data, writing, "It had been the typographical culture inaugurated by Gutenberg that gave rise to the classificatory, spatial model of organizing knowledge, but the final triumph of print culture around 1800 paradoxically sounded its death knell."[13] A method beyond categorization and memorization was now required, and the question of reliable evidence became increasingly important in schoolbooks for children.

One sentence from an 1812 manual-cum-schoolbook for teaching geography neatly illustrates these changes. As a disciple of Pestalozzi, Johann Henning was particularly committed to the new ideals in his *Handbook of a Methodical Instruction in Geography*. Here, he states the goal of the book:

> to raise geography out of the doom of an empty nomenclature, to bring its material into an incommutable order set by nature itself, to base [the study of] life in all parts of the earth on the configuration and proportions of its nature, and to convert all this into an object of independent observation for youth.[14]

A move towards method and away from topical classification, the specialization of learning based on students' age, an attempt to unite the natural world and the human world, and, in the position of prominence, emphasis on individual experience and observation—all these were markers of a new geographic pedagogy developing in the years around 1800.

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[13] Tang, 27 and 36.

[14] "...die Geographie über den Tod einer leeren Nomenklatur zu erheben, ihren Stoff in eine unwandelbare von der Natur selbst bestimmte Ordnung zu bringen, das Leben aller Theile der Erde auf die Beschaffenheit und Verhältnisse ihrer Natur zu gründen, und dieses alles für die Jugend zum Gegenstand selbstthätiger Auffassung zu verarbeiten." Johann W. M. Henning, *Leitfaden beim methodischen Unterricht in der Geographie* (Iferten: Literarische Büreau, 1812), 13.

In the following table, I outline some of the transformations of geographic epistemology in broad strokes. Obviously, some of these comparisons simplify characteristics of geographic thought which in reality were more complex. But this set of changing concepts provides a general context for the analysis of schoolbooks which follows.

Geographic epistemology, mid-18th century	**Geographic epistemology, mid-19th century**
descriptive	explanatory
topical classification of knowledge	scientific system of knowledge
geography divided in 3 parts: mathematical, natural, political	geography comprises a connection between the natural and the social worlds
the earth is a static arrangement of discrete objects	the earth and man change through a dynamic relationship
geographic knowledge advanced through logic and reason	geographic knowledge advanced through empiricism and observation
the study of geography necessitates the memorization of facts	the study of geography necessitates a method based on the subject's own experience

Table 1. Summary of changes from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century in European geographic epistemology.

Geographic Schoolbooks

I have included geography texts, world history narratives, atlases, and some natural science schoolbooks ("Realienbücher") among the approximately 100 formal schoolbooks surveyed for this chapter.[15] Despite the increased professionalization of geography as a discipline by the end of the eighteenth century, the genre lines between geography and world

[15] About half the geography texts in this sample were published before 1800 and half after; many were published in multiple volumes and editions. Though Leipzig and Berlin each produced several titles on the list, many also came out of publishing houses in southern Germany. Most of the schoolbooks range from 300 to 500 pages, but there is significant variation in the page and type size that is markedly different from a later era of textbook standardization.

history and natural science were not so clear in children's education. As the French author Nöel-Antoine Pluche urged in his enormously popular *Spectacle of Nature*, "If you help natural history with geography, natural history will reciprocally render geography more amusing."[16] Another category of textbooks which grew in popularity and technological sophistication over this period was the school atlas. Famous cartographers' work, such as Adolf Stieler's atlas out of Gotha, were reformatted and marketed to a youth audience. Together with the maps, charts, and occasional illustrations embedded in the other texts, these atlases provide a window into children's geographic education through the visual.

Authors of schoolbooks around 1800 in Europe were almost universally men. However, women writers contributed significantly to young people's geographic education through their publication of travel narratives, fiction, and periodicals, as well as pedagogical philosophy (two notable German women pedagogues are Betty Gleim and Caroline Rudolphi).[17] Geographic textbook authors in this period often drew on experience as Gymnasium teachers or rectors, or they built on established scholarly reputations, usually in history, poetry, philosophy, or classics. Indeed, an interesting feature of Enlightenment schoolbooks is their insistence on title pages and advertisements of the authors' and cartographers' scientific credentials. In one sense, this is a predictable reflection of the era's idealization of intellectual authority. But the later textbooks' explicit claims to expertise through pedagogy also indicate that the education of children was playing an increasingly significant role in new kinds of knowledge production and social change. Pedagogues,

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[16] "Si vous aidez l'histoire naturelle par la géographie, réciproquement l'histoire naturelle rendra la géographie fort amusante." Noël-Antoine Pluche, *Le Spectacle de la nature ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle, qui ont paru les plus propres à rendre les Jeunes-Gens curieux, & à leur former l'esprit* (Paris: Les Frères Estienne, 1755), 6:216-217. For more on Pluche's transnational appeal, see Cynthia J. Koepp, "Curiosity, Science, and Experiential Learning in the Eighteenth Century: Reading the *Spectacle de la nature*," in *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800*, ed. Immel & Witmore, 153-80 (2006).

[17] Furthermore, there was a significant market for geography and world history texts aimed explicitly at girls, which will be addressed later in the chapter.

teachers, parents, and textbook authors were trying to puzzle out what an education specialized for different ages should look like. Increasingly, the credibility of a textbook author was more deeply tied to pedagogical experience than to scientific credentials, as the geographies and histories produced for children became even more narrowly marketed and it was not expected that "serious" scientists would write for children. For example, in the forewords to a series of world history textbooks for girls' schools published in the 1840s and 1850s, Christian Neudecker conspicuously cited not famous historians but famous history schoolbooks.[18]

Who were the readers of geographic schoolbooks? While many of these books were intended for secondary-level education, some were specifically designed for younger children. For example, Luise Hölder's illustrated *Little World History*, written as a dialogue between a mother and her children, was intended for ages six to twelve.[19] The author Raff mentioned above aimed his book at young ages, which is clear from the simplicity of the language and content, though not explicit in the title. He promised to rescue small children from their lowly status as "ABC students" through the reading of basic geography.[20] Some longer and more advanced texts were abridged and rewritten for younger readers, such as Johann Cannabich's *Short School Geography*, adapted for the lower and middle grades from his *Geography Reader*; both levels were extremely popular and frequently revised.[21] But age is one of the obvious arenas in which the explicit intentions of textbook writers did not necessarily match children's reading in practice. From periodical subscriber lists and private collections it

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[18] Christian Gotthfried Neudecker, *Weltgeschichte für Töchterschulen: und zum Privatunterrichte für das weiblich Geschlecht von Chr. Oeser* (Leipzig: Fr. Brandstetter, 1848).

[19] *Kleine Weltgeschichte: von den ältesten bis auf die neuesten Zeiten in anziehenden, regelmässig fortlaufenden Erzählungen für Kinder von 6 bis 12 Jahren.*

[20] "Ihr leset es ja noch öfter, und wol noch zwei- drei- bis sechsmal durch....Zu frühe, lieben Kinder! soll ihr keine Gelehrten werden; aber ihr solt doch auch in den guten, hübschen Dingen, die ihr vor euren Augen sehet, nicht immer A. B. C. Schüler bleiben." Raff (1776), 2-3.

[21] Cannabich, *Kleine Schulgeographie* (1818) and *Lehrbuch der Geographie* (1816).

is clear that within families younger children often read their older siblings' books and vice versa. Johann Matthias Schröckh even admitted this ambiguity himself in a 1774 world history textbook, which was designed for children between approximately 10 and 15 years old: "I say 'approximately,' because ability, curiosity, and other characteristics or needs can move these limits forward or backward. This decision belongs to the schoolmaster alone."[22] And Friedrich Nösselt noted in his *World History Reader for Girls' Schools* that "a teacher of stratified classes will easily be able to select the more interesting [parts] for [little] children."[23] Though he aimed these texts at a secondary level (*Töchterschulen*), in the foreword he noted his "pleasure that even the smallest girls gladly visit his history lessons," and suggested ways in which teachers could modify the book for younger audiences.[24] In practice, especially in this early period, contingencies of book availability, school placement, family birth order, and household resources probably determined children's age-graded use of such texts as much as individual ability and curiosity.

While it remained true into the nineteenth century that schoolbook readers ranged widely in age, the audience of geographic schoolbooks changed more over the period in terms of class and gender. Predictably, geographic schoolbooks published earlier were only accessed by a small, elite class. Moving into the nineteenth century, such texts began to be targeted at an expanding middle-class reading public. While the default child reader was imagined to be male, a significant number of geographic schoolbooks were explicitly produced for girls and girls' schools. Other texts clearly address both boys and girls, such as Heinrich Rockstroh's *Stories from Ancient and Medieval History* for a "junge Leser und

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[22] "Ich sage: ohngefähr; weil Fähigkeit, Wißbegierde, und andere Eigenschaften oder Bedürfnisse diese Gränzen weiter zurück sezen oder vorrücken können. Die Entscheidung darüber gehört allein dem mündlichen Lehrer zu." Schröckh, *Lehrbuch* (1774), viii.

[23] "Ein geschichtet Lehrer wird für solche Kinder leicht das Interessantere auswählen können." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* (1827), vii.

[24] "Der Verfasser hat das Vergnügen, daß selbst die kleinsten Mädchen seine Geschichtsstunden gern besuchen." *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte für Töchterschulen* (1827), v.

Leserinnen" or Karl Stein's *Universal World History* "for the use of sons and daughters of the educated classes."[25]

These books were used in a variety of settings: Gymnasien and Realschulen (secondary schools); Volksschulen (primary schools); military schools; and at home, with or without private tutors. Parents were addressed nearly as often as teachers and students, as when Raff told children, "Your good father or mother or teacher will tell you as much about it as you would like to hear and can understand."[26] One common method for using schoolbooks in home instruction, with either a parent or tutor supervising, was for students to copy out notes on their reading. For example, a collection of family documents archived in Hannover contains a set of school exercise books kept by brothers Carl and Adolph von Lüneburg between 1816 and 1821.[27] The subjects were "Geography of Europe" (which also included notes on a general introduction to the study of geography), "History of England," "History of German leagues," and various essays. Each notebook held between 10 and 30 pages of notes and copying from textbooks or classroom instruction, and some of the boys' writing was glossed with corrections from a teacher. There is also evidence of self-correction, and places and dates were circled and marked in margins throughout the geography and history notes. Carl von Lüneburg's notes on the Geography of Europe began by defining the three areas of "Erdbeschreibung": mathematic, physical, and political geography, a sign of the methodical approach to geography education as a science.

Moving through typical geographic schoolbooks cover to cover, the ubiquitous author's foreword printed at the beginning of most texts offer a starting point for understanding the implications of book formats for practice. These were often addressed to

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[25] Rockstroh (1829), vi; Karl Stein, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für die Jugend, zunächst zum Gebrauche für Söhne und Töchter aus den gebildeten Ständen und für Schulen* (Berlin: G. Hayn, 1810).

[26] "Euer guter Vater, oder Mutter oder Lehrer werden euch soviel daraus erzählen, als ihr gerne höret und verstehen könt." Raff, 1-2.

[27] Carl & Adolph von Lüneburg, Schulhefte, 1816-1821, Dep. 122 Nr. 92, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover.

adults, typically positing an audience of both classroom teachers and parents supervising their children's education. The authors discussed their motives in writing for children, their scientific credentials for writing geography or world history, similar books previously published, and the way that adults should use the text to aid their instruction of children. In other words, the topics of most forewords were clearly provided for adults. And yet these pieces occupied the first pages of a book that was likely in the hands of individual children for years. What did that contradiction entail for children, when the foreword was not part of their intended reading? Did they simply skip over material obviously aimed at their parents, or would they choose to read about their own nature and pedagogic goals? For example, Rockstroh presented his chosen periodization of ancient history within the text as an objective and natural breakdown of time. But in the foreword, he spent a good deal of time debating and justifying his reasons for this particular chronology to an adult audience, undermining that easy authority of his own text.

The body of a schoolbook also varied across texts, from short subdivided sections to long essays to lists of questions and answers. One of the earliest examples surveyed in this study, the 1770 *Expanded Geography Handbook for Gentle Children*, shares much with later textbooks.[28] But the organization was strikingly different. Rather than a methodical introduction to terms or geographically rationalized journey through continents, this little book offered quite a hodgepodge of trivia related to geography, including a list of historically important cities, a section on coinage, the differences between Russian and Portuguese melons, and a list of the Seven Wonders. Such a motley collection lent itself much more easily to the catechetical model of reading and recitation, rather than reading for interpretation or comparison. Later geography textbooks were more narrative and organized

[28] *Vermehrtes Geographisches Handbüchlein für die zarte Jugend* (Mühlhausen: Leopold Andreas Beck, 1770).

into methodical sections, as in Josef Annegarn's lengthy *Handbook of Geography for Youth* (1834). (Please see Figure 13 at the end of this section for a sample table of contents from Annegarn's volume.) While the regions covered in different books varied widely, the division of this text into mathematical, physical, and political geography was fairly typical, as was the provision of section headings for even very short statements.[29]

Some schoolbooks, such as Franz's *Reader of Lands and Peoples*, were printed with large margins that featured an occasional gloss or description of the neighboring paragraph.[30] Many student notebooks preserved in private collections followed this model too, with teachers' comments and corrections also scrawled in the margins. The form indicates strategies both for retrieving information from the book outside a linear reading and for marking crucial categories for the purpose of memorization.

Finally, coming to the end of the text, many children's schoolbooks were printed with a closing index of terms, peoples, and especially places. The simple existence of such an index indicates that even the publishers did not expect students to begin at the beginning and read until the end in a direct path. Rather, the index allowed child readers to privilege certain kinds of information, focus on certain places in the world, return to sections which attracted them or were required, and neglect material not relevant to their own idiosyncratic navigation of the text. In a similar vein, Rockstroh's world history ended with a 26-page glossary of mythology. This has particularly interesting implications for his girl readership, since many girls did not receive the same classical education as their brothers. But for girls and boys alike, the ending glossary allowed for non-linear reading and reference.

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[29] This example also demonstrates the political implications of place and population names: the chapters on North Africa were organized around ancient cities, some of which had been replaced long before 1834; the chapters on European geography were subdivided by political states, while much of Africa, Asia, and Australia was listed as collections of islands and peoples.

[30] Friedrich Christian Franz, *Lehrbuch der Länder- und Völkerkunde: Asien, Afrika, Amerika und die neu entdekten Länder* (Stuttgart: Erhard & Löslund, 1790).

While acknowledging the variety of ways these texts were deployed in practice over the years, the following table summarizes changes in the style, content, authorship, and readership of geography and world history schoolbooks with broad strokes from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Geographic textbooks, mid-18th century	Geographic textbooks, mid-19th century
schoolbooks present a miscellaneous set of statements	schoolbooks present a coherent science informed by laws
typical format: a series of questions & answers, for memorization and recitation	typical format: narrative essays and problem sets with answers
author's expertise derives from university-based scholarly credentials	author's expertise derives from secondary-level pedagogic experience
geography textbooks written without age-specified readership	geography schoolbooks written for the particular needs of child readership
the geography schoolbook reader is assumed to be a young man	the geography schoolbook reader's gender becomes an explicit concern
readers are members of a small, elite class	readers are members of a growing middle-class reading public
"school" books are used in a wide range of domestic and institutional settings	more and more, schoolbooks are intended for formal classrooms
atlases are luxury items used primarily by adults for scientific purposes	the school atlas emerges as a key segment of the book market for young readers

Table 2. Summary of changes from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century in geographic textbooks.

Josef Annegarn, *Geography Handbook for Youth* **(1834)**

Mathematical Geography

1. Introduction

First Part: Shape of the Earth

2. Sphericity of the Earth
3. Flattening of the Earth

Second Part: Size of the Earth

4. Circumference and Diameter of the Earth
5. Degrees of the Earth

Third Part: Movement of the Earth

6. Introduction
7. Axis Revolution of the Earth
8. Axis and Poles of the Earth
9. Equator 10. Meridian
11. Geographical Longitude
12. Time Difference
13. Movement of the Earth around the Sun,
14. Julian and Gregorian Calenders
15. The Twelve Celestial Symbols
16. Parallel Circles 17. Geographical Latitude
18. The Four Seasons
19. Mathematical Climate
20. Tropic and Polar Circles
21. Three Zones 22. Horizon
23. Three Spheres 24. Three Hemispheres
25. Periœcian, Antoecian, Antipodean
26. Various Noon Shadows

Fourth Part: Position of the Earth

27. Where the earth is
28. The Sun 29. The Planets
30. The Satellites 31. The Moon
32. Eclipses 33. Comets
34. Fixed Stars 35. Copernican System
36. Measurement of the Globe

Physical Geography

First Part: Solid Land

1. The Five Continents 2. Plains
3. Mountains 4. Rivers

Second Part: Ocean

5. The Five Major Oceans
6. Parts of the World's Oceans
7. Color of the Ocean
8. Salinity of the Ocean Water
9. Movements of the Ocean

Third Part: Air

10. Characteristics of the Air
11. Winds 12. Physical Climate
13. Meteors

Fourth Part: Products

14. Products
15. Trade and Industry
16. Physical Diversity of Humans

Political Geography

General Political Geography

1. State
2. Law and Order
3. Military Power
4. Academies
5. Taxation
6. Religions
7. Languages
8. People's Way of Life

Particular Political Geography

I. Europe

1. Germany
   - A) The Prussian State
   - B) The Kingdom of Hanover
   - C) Bremen
   - D) The Grand Duchy of Oldenburg
   - E) Hamburg F) The Duchy of Holstein
   - G) Lübeck
   - H) The Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg
   - I) The Duchy of Anhalt
   - K) The Principality of Schwarzburg
   - L) The Duchy of Braunschweig
   - M) The Principality of Lippe
   - N) The Principality of Waldeck
   - O) The Electorate of Hesse
   - P) The Duchy of Hesse
   - Q) The Landgraviate of Hesse
   - R) The Duchy of Nassau
   - S) Frankfurt T) The Kingdom of Saxony
   - U) The Saxon Duchy
   - V) The Principality of Reuss
   - W) The Grand Duchy of Baden
   - X) The Kingdom of Württemberg
   - Y) The Kingdom of Bavaria
   - Z) The Austrian Empire
2. Italy
3. Switzerland
4. The Kingdom of France
5. The Kingdom of Spain
6. The Kingdom of Portugal
7. The British Empire
8. The Kingdom of the Netherlands
9. The Kingdom of Belgium
10. The Kingdom of Denmark
11. The Kingdom of Sweden
12. The Kingdom of Norway
13. The Kingdom of Russia
14. The Kingdom of Poland
15. European Turkey
16. The Kingdom of Greece

II. Asia
A) Asian Turkey
B) Arabia
C) Persia
D) Turkestan
E) East Indies
1. The Indian Subcontinent
a) Free Indian States
α) State of the Sikhs
β) State of the Rasbuten
γ) State of Mahrata
δ) State Nepal
b) European Colonial Possessions
α) Possessions of the English
β) — — — Dutch
γ) — — — Portuguese
δ) — — — French
2. Southeast Asia
3. The East Indian Islands
a) The Maldives
b) Ceylon
c) The Andaman Islands
d) Indonesia
α) Sumatra β) Java
γ) Borneo δ) Celebes [Sulawesi]
e) The Maluku Islands
F) China
G) Japan
III. Africa
A) Egypt
B) Nubia
C) Abyssinia
D) The Berbers
1. Barce [Marj] 2. Tripoli
3. Fezzan 4. Tunisia
5. Algeria 6. Fez and Morroco
7. Biledulgerid
E) The Saharan Desert
F) Senegambia
G) Guinea
H) Negroland
I) The Cape Colony
K) The Kaffirs
L) Countries on the East Coast of Africa
1. Sofala 2. Mutapa
3. Mozambique 4. Zanzibar
5. Ajan and Adel [Somalia]
M) The African Islands
1. The Amirante Islands 2. Seychelles
3. The Comoro Islands 4. Réunion
5. Mauritius 6. Madagascar
7. St. Helena 8. Ascension Island
9. Guinea Islands 10. Cape Verde Islands
11. The Canary Islands 12. Madeira etc.
13. The Azores
IV. America
A) North America
1. North Pole Countries
a) Arctic Highland b) Greenland
c) Svalbard
2. British North America
3. Russian North America
4. The United States
5. The Mexican Free States
6. Federal Republic of Central America
B. South America
1. The Republic of Columbia 2. The Guianas
3. Brazil 4. The Republic of Peru
5. — — Bolivia 6. — — Chile
7. United Provinces of the River Plate
8. The Republic of Paraguay
9. Cisplatina 10. Patagonia
C) West Indies
1. The Bahamas 2. The Greater Antilles
3. The Lesser Antilles
V. Australia
1. New Holland 2. New Zealand
3. New Caledonia
4. New Hebrides [Vanuatu]
5. Queen Charlotte Islands [Haida Gwaii]
6. New Georgia
7. he Louisiade Archipelago
8. New Guinea 9. New Brittanien
10. Admiralty Islands
11. The Caroline Islands
12. The Mariana Islands
13. Pescadores [The Penghu Islands]
14. Mulgoares Island 15. Samoa Islands
16. Friendship Island 17. The Cook Islands
18. The Society Islands 19. Lower Islands
20. The Marquesas Islands
21. Sandwich Islands

Figure 13. Table of Contents from a Typical Geography Schoolbook

How the Active Child Read the World: Changing Geographic Literacy Practices

Authors imagining child readers

In this section, I outline three dimensions in which the choices that schoolbook authors made demonstrate the emergence of the active child reader, with a new focus on "child-oriented" texts: first, through pedagogues' self-characterization, especially in the forewords to geographic schoolbooks; second, in the growing emphasis on amusing child readers; and third, as changing gender presumptions shaped the educational methods considered appropriate for girls and for boys.

Forewords

Most schoolbooks published around 1800 included a foreword of at least two pages, sometimes dozens of pages of prefatory material. Often these forewords were addressed by the author to teachers and/or parents; some were written to an aristocratic patron; and some to children.[31] They provide a particularly useful window into changing geographic education because authors needed to justify publication (and updated editions) by explaining what their textbooks offered child readers that was new and different from established scientific literature. For example, Heinrich Rockstroh suggested his *Stories* for children were a necessary addition to the field of history textbooks because his contribution "serve[d] as a preliminary or first instruction in world history, and so therefore also as such for [those of] a still youthful age."[32] He established the market for his text by tapping into a growing understanding of childhood as a special stage of life requiring attention toward children's emotions and particular learning needs.

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[31] Forewords were called by various names, including Vorwort, Vorrede, Vorbericht, Einleitung, Präambel.
[32] "...dient als vorläufiger oder erster Unterricht in der Weltgeschichte, und so denn auch als solcher für ein nur noch jugendliches Alter." Rockstroh (1829), vi.

In 1812, Pestalozzi disciple Johann Henning charged primary school teachers to develop geography instruction that was not only driven by the needs of the school, "but also especially from the nature and the peculiar requirements of the elementary school students."[33] By 1850, when August Lüben published his *Guide to a Methodical Instruction in Geography for City Schools*, he asserted in the foreword that "the material [was] arranged and handled with respect to the gradual development of the child's spirit."[34] The ideal that children's reading be specialized was so well established that Lüben wrote of it as a natural assumption.

One consequence of this emphasis on age-graded reading was that authors began advocating a more interactive, more flexible kind of instruction (however rigidly didactic the execution). The tone of forewords grew increasingly sentimental over the period, with authors writing to the "dear children." In the foreword to the first edition of his schoolbook, which updated an older text that had been focused on the consumption and retention of information, Schröckh identified critical thinking as an aim of classroom instruction as well as memorization of content:

> But teachers who are not used to treating children as mere machines understand better than I need to tell them, that the powers of reflection in their students can and must be raised early and sharpened, so that all they learn does not remain a mere burden of rote memorization.[35]

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[33] "Die Gesetze des geographischen Unterrichts in Elementar- oder Primar-Schulen müssen also nicht nur aus der Natur der Schule überhaupt, sondern auch besonders aus der Natur und den eigenthümlichen Bedürfnissen der Elementarschüler erkannt werden." Henning (1812), 15.

[34] "Der Stoff ist mit Rücksicht auf die allmählige Entwickelung des kindlichen Geistes angeordnet und bearbeitet." August Lüben, *Leitfaden zu einem methodischen Unterricht in der Geographie für Bürgerschulen: mit vielen Aufgaben und Fragen zu mündlicher und schriftlicht Lösung* (Helmstedt: E. G. Fleckeisen'schen Buchhandlung, 1850), iii.

[35] "Aber Lehrer, welche nicht gewohnt sind, sie als blosse Maschinen zu behandeln, verstehen es besser, als ich es ihnen zu sagen brauche, daß das Nachdencken ihrer Lehrlinge zeitig erweckt und geschärft werden könne und müsse, wenn nicht alles was sie lernen, bloß eine Last des Gedächtnisses bleiben soll." Schröckh, *Lehrbuch* (1774), iv-v.

Similarly, Rockstroh warned against reading his tales without thinking.[36] Cannabich suggested in the first edition of his school geography that "standard" geographical listing of country and place names should be embroidered with detail to make it memorable for youth.[37] And Lüben, writing that it was "natural, appropriate to the child's educational path," suggested that the lists of cities and population numbers in his text not be memorized, but rather serve as a sense of approximate context.[38]

Amusement

The second transformation that can be observed in geographic schoolbooks is related to this move away from memorization: the obligation to amuse child readers grew in importance as the memorization-recitation model waned. In books targeted at young readers, the use of entertaining stories to describe peoples and places was an obvious example (as in titles such as Johann Voit's *School of Pleasure for Little Children*, 1803). But even for older readers, some sense of pleasure or even fun became increasingly indispensable in nineteenth-century schoolbooks.

As part of the development of new childhood ideology, eighteenth-century pedagogues began to advocate an education that was more flexible, child-directed, and even "cozy."[39] To be sure, Enlightenment textbooks still espoused a moral didacticism, but these authors believed they were making a break with the dry and rigid model of the past. They

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[36] "Sie sollen und können dienen—vorausgesetzt, dass man sie mit Aufmerksamkeit und nicht ohne Nachdenken liest—zum vorläufigen oder ersten gründlichen Unterrichte in der Weltgeschichte..." Rockstroh (1829), 1: ix-x.

[37] "Endlich beschränkte ich mich bei der Anführung der Länder und der Orte nicht auf eine bloße trockene Nomenklatur, sondern bemühete mich, dem Anfänger möglichst anschauliche Begriffe vorzulegen, und dadurch seinem Gedächtnisse das Behalten der nötigen Namen und Zahlen zu erleichtern." Cannabich (1818), 1: iv.

[38] **"**Ich glaube nicht, daß diese Anordnung der weiten Begründung bedarf; sie erscheint als eine natürliche, dem Bildungsgange des Kindes angemessene und hat sich in der Erfahrung als solche bewährt." Lüben (1850), iii-iv.

[39] "gemütlich..." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* (1827), iv.

connected a more successful learning process with a greater warmth and interactivity characterizing geographic education, as Cannabich wrote in his short geography,

> Finally, I have limited myself to introducing the countries and places not only through a mere dry nomenclature, but rather have endeavored to present concrete characteristics to the beginner, and thereby facilitate his memory for retaining the necessary names and numbers.[40]

Similarly, Feder argued that if children read geography with more pleasure they would better retain the information.[41] He also marked a new era in geographic education that was specifically produced with children in mind, and that would be easier to learn but also more conscientiously linked to moral instruction.[42] Schröckh's successful adaptation between 1774 and 1816 of a textbook originally published by Hilmar Curas in 1723 demonstrates this shift and the modernization of pedagogy. Curas was concerned with how best to aid memorization of the history he had prepared and the ethical implications of its content, without much attention to the age-specific needs of his readers. But Schröckh's text was explicitly redesigned for a child audience, and at least nominally emphasized the need for students to develop their own powers of critical thinking alongside learning the content (he urged teachers to remember that students were not "machines").[43] Both texts covered the birth of Christ forward to about 1780, with a geographic range mostly limited to Europe,

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[40] "Endlich beschränkte ich mich bei der Anführung der Länder und der Orte nicht auf eine bloße trockene Nomenklatur, sondern bemühete mich, dem Anfänger möglichst anschauliche Begriffe vorzulegen, und dadurch seinem Gedächtnisse das Behalten der nötigen Namen und Zahlen zu erleichtern." Cannabich (1818), iv.

[41] "Unsere Absicht ist völlig erreicht, wenn die Kinder in dieser Erdbeschreibung mit mehreren Vergnügen lesen, als in irgend einer andern, die ihnen bisher vorgelegt werden konnte." Raff (1776), ix.

[42] "...ich habe so viele Untersuchungen darüber angestellt, daß ich ohne Vermessenheit das Gegenteil vermuten darf. Es kann ein Buch vortrefflich seyn, ohne das brauchbarste für den ersten Unterricht zu seyn. In den vorzüglichsten geographischen Handbüchern, die ich kenne, ist der größte Theiß von Namen und Anmerkungen für Kinder nicht zu gebrauchen; und zu vielem hingegen, was ihnen bei Gelegenheit der Erdbeschreibung am schicklichsten beigebracht werden kann, findet sich keine Anleitung." Ibid., iv.

[43] "Aber Lehrer, welche nicht gewohnt sind, sie als blosse Maschinen zu behandeln, verstehen es besser, als ich es ihnen zu sagen brauche, daß das Nachdencken ihrer Lehrlinge zeitig erweckt und geschärft werden könne und müsse, wenn nicht alles was sie lernen, bloß eine Last des Gedächtnisses bleiben soll." Schröckh, *Lehrbuch* (1774), iv-v.

with some details from China and the post-Columbian Americas thrown in. The *Lehrbuch* also included an appendix on the history and geography of Saxony and Brandenburg. By comparison to Curas's more academic treatise of the early eighteenth century, both Schröckh series reflect a new attitude about the specialized education of German children.

Of course, rhetoric about free amusement should not be taken too far—children were meant to be entertained only insofar as it facilitated their attention and retention of facts.[44] In 1806, for example, Adam Gaspari defended the dryness of his *Geography Reader*, writing, "I have left out the characteristics of the nations in foreign parts of the world. I know that children love to hear about of the customs and ways of life of these [places], but I do not know of what use a rambling description of these [topics] would be, other than for pleasure, and time is too precious for that."[45] By 1828, the pressure to amuse child readers was pervasive enough that Carl Grumbach insisted the purpose of his *The Voyage Files* "cannot and should not consist in that: to regale the reader in a pleasantly diverting way."[46] Along the same lines, there was the challenge Johann Henning discovered when he tried to incorporate the pleasures of learning from nature into his teaching:

> Several times a week I went with my students into the open air in order to show them certain soil formations or other natural conditions of the

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[44] Just as these developments did not entail full creative freedom for child learners, the old memorization-driven didactics were not necessarily purely repressive. For example, the famous composer Georg Philipp Telemann created a *Singing Geography* in 1708, 36 songs for voice and continuo based on the geography textbook of Johann Christoph Losius as an entertaining way to aid memorization.

[45] "Die Charakteristik der Nationen fremder Welttheile habe ich übergangen. Ich weiß wohl, daß Kinder gerne von den Gebräuchen und Lebensacten derselben erzählen hören; ich weiß aber nicht, wozu ihnen eine weitläuftige Beschreibung derselben anders nützen soll, als zum Vergnügen, und dazu ist die Zeit zu edel." Gaspari (1806), 12.

[46] "Die Absicht, um welcher willen dieses Werkchen unternommen worden ist, kann und soll nicht etwa darin bestehen: die Leser und Leserinnen auf eine blos angenehme kurzweilige Art zu ergötzen..." Carl Grumbach, *Die Reisemappe: enthaltend Auszüge aus Reisebeschreibungen Städteräthsel und Sinngedichte, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für die mittlere Jugend* (Meißen: C. E. Klinkicht und Sohn, 1828), iii.

> surrounding area; but soon I saw that it was impossible to constrain the attention of 20-30 boys outdoors.[47]

Despite these protests and Henning's trouble with distracted boys, geographic schoolbooks in general grew more imbued with characteristics familiar from children's pleasure reading. Indeed, the fact that even authors who continued familiar didactic formats nevertheless claimed to be abandoning dry memorization for ease and entertainment testifies to the power of the sentimental ideology of childhood.

One artifact of changing geographic education at the beginning of this period, a particularly delightful illustration of the intersection between pleasure and geography, is a board game from the 1780s called *The Journey from Prague to Vienna: A Geography Game for Youth.*[48] The game fit inside a slim blue case and was accompanied by a set of instructions in French (a possible second pamphlet in German may have been lost). The playing board showed a map with small sketches of people, carriages, natural features, and so on, illustrating possible encounters and catastrophes of traveling on the road. Red and green lines connected the cities, and the map ranged from Triest and Laybach in the south to Lübeck and Strahlsund in the north; from Düsseldorf and Mainz in the west to Presburg and Breslau in the east.

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[47] "Mehrere-Mal in der Woche ging ich mit meinen Schülern in's Freie, um ihnen gewisse Formationen des Bodens oder andre Naturverhältnisse der umliegenden Gegend zu zeigen; aber bald sah ich, es sey unmöglich, die Aufmerksamkeit von 20-30 Knaben im Freien zu fesseln." Henning (1812), 19.

[48] *Die Reise von Prag nach Wien: Ein geographisches Spiel für die Jugend.* c. 1780s. Board games have been played for thousands of years around the world, and have been marketed for children's use in particular since the mid-to-late eighteenth century in Europe. The current authoritative overview of board game history is David Sidney Parlett, *The Oxford History of Board Games* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). On the flourishing of board game production for children's education in the 1780s (the British context), see Caroline G. Goodfellow, "The Development of the English Board Game, 1770-1850," *Board Game Studies* no. 1 (1998): 70-80; Jill Shefrin, *The Dartons: Publishers of Educational Aids, Pastimes & Juvenile Ephemera, 1787-1876* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Occasional Press, 2009). For the history of German games (mostly twentieth-century), see also the German Game Archive in Nuremberg (Deutsches Spielarchiv Nürnberg), whose website proclaims that "German is *the* country of game players" ("Deutschland ist *das* Land der Spieler"), accessed December 19, 2013, http://deutsches-spiele-archiv.de.

Each player held an "emploi," a job: either doctor, cartwright, Prague inspector, or postilion. This was a "race game," in which participants advanced around the board using balls of different-colored wax to mark the players, dice, and a set of playing pieces that were gained or lost with success in the game. At different points in the game, dangers menaced the traveling players, such as being imprisoned in a tower or lost in the Thuringian forest. Perhaps the most dramatic possibility was the moment when a player would lose all his money and have to return to Prague. The instructions suggested that the player make up a circumstance in which he has been forced to beg, and that a good story could be rewarded by the other players being forced to return half his wealth. Upon arrival at each city, the players had to answer geography questions about their destination or forfeit playing pieces for wrong answers. The instructions suggested that the child best acquainted geography should be appointed Director, with a note that turns as Director should be shared if several want the role. A rule about what happened if the Director missed a geographic fact while administering the questions implies that this was indeed intended to be played with peers rather than a parent or tutor.

This game vividly illustrates the fusion of geographic instruction with a new approach to socializing children that elevated pleasure and amusement alongside learning. Indeed, children's geographic education was a primary motive for the expansion of board game production at the end of the eighteenth century.[49] At the same time, the game presents

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[49] Goodfellow, 74-75. *The Journey from Prague to Vienna* was probably based on an earlier English race game made by John Jefferys, *A Journey through Europe, or the Play of Geography* (1759). The game design and instructions were quite similar, as well as the explicit pedagogic aims (although the rules of play were printed directly on the board). Notably, *The Journey from Prague to Vienna* reorients the center of the world from London to the cities of Central Europe. See F. R. B. Whitehouse, *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days* (London: Peter Garnett, 1951); Margaret Drabble, *The Pattern in the Carpet: A Personal History with Jigsaws* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2009), 106-110. Another British example of geography race games for children is John Harris's *Geographical Recreation, or a Voyage round the Habitable Globe* (1809). Though fairly different visually from *The Journey from Prague to Vienna*, Harris's game was designed for a similar purpose, "to familiarise youth with the names and relative situations of places, together with the manners, customs, and dresses of the different nations of the habitable globe."

a specific worldview: the "Germany' that is presented in this children's game, nearly a century before unification, presents the "Großdeutschland" map of German-speaking lands in an imagined nation. And the illustrations and scenarios imagined by the game instructions are largely concerned with training young game players in the use of maps for elite business travel and political understanding. But perhaps even more starkly than geographic schoolbooks, this game reveals the possibilities of children's agency through their education. As Mary Flanagan writes,

> Because they primarily exist as rule systems, games are particularly ripe for subversive practices. A hallmark of games is that they are structured by their rule sets, and every game has its 'cheats'—even play itself, pushing at the boundaries of a game system, could be said to involve a kind of subversion.[50]

The Journey from Prague to Vienna invited children's active engagement and creative invention, but it could not control precisely how real game players would interpret, modify, or ignore the rules. Geographic schoolbooks were not so obviously entertaining as games like this one. However, from the late eighteenth century, authors were increasingly invested in capturing some elements of fun and amusement, of the sort reflected in *The Journey from Prague to Vienna*, for the general geographic education of young people.

Gender specialization

The third dimension I explore concerning authors' imagination of child readers is gender. This section investigates how gender presumptions shaped the pedagogic strategies and instruction in geography or world history that was seen as appropriate for girls versus boys. Changing pedagogic philosophies concerning experience, subjectivity, pleasure, and family reshaped schoolbooks, which was evident especially in the gendering of those texts. Age intersected with gender, as new ideas about children's education in general made it at

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[50] Mary Flanagan, *Critical Play: Radical Game Design* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2009), 11.

once urgent to attend to girls' education in particular. The following section addresses the rise of schoolbooks published for girl readers and the gender expectations revealed by these texts as another expression of the specialization of geographic education for child readers.

Theorist Elizabeth Segel observes that "one of the most obvious ways gender influences our experience as readers is when it determines what books are made available to us."[51] It is commonly recognized that German-reading girls around 1800 spent much of their instruction and pleasure time reading books marketed for their brothers and male classmates, as girls have long done. But those books which were produced specifically for girls afford a special opportunity to see explicit ways in which students' reading experience was gendered. Two notable examples are Wilhelm Fornet's *World History for Daughters of the Educated Classes, for use in schools and by self instruction* (1840) and a series of volumes of *World History for Girls' Schools and Private Instruction of the Female Sex*, first published by Christian Oeser before 1843 and then revised by Christian Gotthfried Neudecker in 1848. As a case study, the following analysis draws primarily on a series of geography and world history schoolbooks written by Friedrich Nösselt from the 1820s to the 1840s.

[51] Elizabeth Segel, "'As the Twig is Bent...': Gender and Childhood Reading," in *Gender And Reading: Essays on Readers, Texts, and Contexts*, ed. Elizabeth Flynn and Patrocinio Schweickart (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 165.

Friedrich Nösselt's textbooks were published for use either at home, in private instruction, or at one of the growing number of girls' secondary schools.[52] At the same time that many aspects of children's education were becoming more free and flexible, the available texts tended to more gender-specific pedagogies. Consequently, some specific educational opportunities and subjects studied were increasingly closed off to girls, even as girls' schools became more developed. Just as more and more girls were pursuing an education that included situating them in a global market and culture, those girls' own practical exploration of that world was denied to them and gender-bounded texts for children proliferated. Certain virtues—notably, self-control & obedience—became celebrated more in female youth, while boys begin to read more tales of heroism and cleverness.[53] Nösselt used the very gender ideologies emerging from the Enlightenment which excluded women from active public participation in the world to argue that the education of girls in geography and world events was important. By teaching girls about the past and the nature of other nations in the world, he hoped to impress upon them the importance of "an excellent paternal world order."[54] And yet at times, he seemed to

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[52] Nösselt, the son of a Lutheran theologian, began his teaching career at the Maria-Magdalenen Gymnasium in Breslau (now Wrocław), where he still worked when the books were originally published. By the middle of the nineteenth century, at the end of Nösselt's life, the school was quite large, with a thousand male students instructed by several dozen teachers. Eventually, Nösselt founded a secondary school for girls, originally associated with the Magdalenen Gymnasium, which later became the Augusta Schule. He was recognized during his own time for contributions to girls' education. A nineteenth-century encyclopedia of topics relating to the instruction of middle-class young ladies, the *Damen Conversations Lexikon*, commented on the breadth of his publishing for girls, from a geography textbook, to a world history reader, to a collection of Greek and Roman mythology (Carl Herloßsohn, ed. *Damen Conversations Lexikon*, vol. 7 [Leipzig: Friedrich Volkmar, 1836], 452). He eventually published a version of his geography and world history texts for *Bürgerschulen*, but he began by writing for girls. In addition to the *Short* and *Long Geography*, Nösselt wrote a *World History Reader for Girls' Schools and the Private Instruction of Young Women* which was published in at least 10 editions during his lifetime (*Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte für Töchterschulen und zum Privatunterricht heranwachsender Mädchen*; my analysis deals with the editions from 1827, 1830, 1835, 1838, and 1842).

[53] See Susanne Barth, "Das Goldtöchterchen: Zur geschlechtsspezifischen Erziehung von Kleinen Mädchen im Kinderbuch um nach 1800," *Der Deutschunterricht: Beiträge zu Seiner Praxis und Wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung*, 42, no. 3 (1990): 61-75; Jennifer Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008).

[54] "...und welche ganz vorzüglich eine väterliche Weltregierung beweisen." *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte für Töchterschulen* (1827), iv.

equivocate about what his female audience required that was different from boys' education: he suggested that teachers of girls should emphasize "the beauty of magnanimity and the damnability of vice and weakness," but he also allowed that "much of what boys learn, girls must also know."[55]

The question of selection is crucial to how world history and geography were gendered in their presentation to young female students. Nösselt encouraged the classical education of girls in ancient history, even if they did not read Latin and Greek. (He also published a book of mythology that apparently influenced, among others, a young Thomas Mann).[56] Surprisingly, Nösselt also kept his text current to within a few years of publication: he added France's July Revolution of 1830 to the 1835 edition and discussed the upheavals of 1848 in the 1850 publication. Far from restricting girls' education to private, domestic concerns, Nösselt brought contemporary political conflicts and shifting national borders to the forefront. This fact seems to contradict Nösselt's insistence in his forewords that "above all...history must be presented to girls from the 'homey' side."[57] Still, those forewords reveal that the question of what places, people, and stories to include was a preoccupying problem for Nösselt, as it probably was in other instructional contexts: he claims to have delayed publication "in order to gain richer experience in the style of lecturing and in the selection of facts themselves."[58] He offered a simultaneous emphasis on refined discernment—which was, again, painted in gendered terms—and on comprehensive breadth. In the abridged *Short Geography*, for example, entries and questions are simply shortened so that every single place

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[55] "die Schönheit der Seelengröße und die Verwerflichkeit des Lasters und der Schwäche...Vieles aus ihr, was Knaben lernen, müssen die Mädchen auch wissen." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* vol. 1 (1827), iv.
[56] "Mann always and frequently credited his introduction to mythology to the edition of Friedrich Nösselt's *Lehrbuch der griechischen und römischen Mythology* read by his mother as a child and passed on to her children." Lewis Lawson, *A Gorgon's Mask: The Mother in Thomas Mann's Fiction* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2005), 37.
[57] "Überhaupt scheint dem Verfasser, daß für Mädchen die Geschichte von der gemütlichen Seite dargestellt werden müsse." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* vol. 1 (1827), iv.
[58] "Nur verschob er die Ausführung noch auf einige Jahre hinaus, um in der Art des Vortrages und in der Wahl [iv] der Tatsachen selbst noch gereiftere Erfahrung zu gewinnen," Ibid., iii-iv.

included in the original larger work, from Prussia, to Korea, to Algeria, to Paraguay, might be included.

Nösselt's struggles with choosing what to include reveal the consequences of crafting a particular perspective on both space and time for girls. Nösselt stated, as though obvious, his preference to limit stories of war. Interestingly, his ideal world history for girls shares some similarities with trends today in history & geography education: an emphasis on narrative over the memorization of dates, names, and places. In the early nineteenth-century context, however, Nösselt reserved this modern method of instruction particularly for a *female* audience whose *Bildung* will be, he suggested, heightened by that which appeals to their hearts.[59] Similarly, Christian Neudecker wrote in the introduction to his history book for girls, "A history for girls depends therefore not as much on critical truth and completeness, as rather on the connection of the narrative with life, and especially with the lives of women."[60] It is an oddly present-day sentiment, although it is restricted to girls' reading.

On the surface, Nösselt accepted and promulgated familiar gendered divisions of social roles, writing that geographic texts for girls should focus on virtues and domestic issues, not military conquest, and that boys should focus on memorizing details of various wars. And yet, rather than using gender difference to justify the neglect of female education, Nösselt built his career on publishing for girls. Even more revealingly, his writing sidestepped that debate, taking it as a given that middle-class and upper-class girls should be

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[59] "Schwieriger ist die Auswahl dessen, was man ihnen erzählen soll, und der Verfasser gestreht gern, daß er, ungeachtet er seit 18 Jahren bereits Mädchen von jedem Alter unterrichtet hat, darin nicht immer mit sich einig ist. Daß man ihnen die Geschichte der Kriege möglichst abkürze, sie nicht mit Jahreszahlen überhäufe, sie nicht die Reihen der Königsnamen auswendig lernen lasse, versteht sich wohl von selbst, da ja Alles vermieden werden [vi] muß, was einem Mädchen den Anstrich von gelehrter Bildung gibt....Erst erwecke man Luft zur Geschichte durch umständliche Erzählung, auch bei den Knaben; dann erst komme man mit Tabellen und trocknen Erzählungen, die beim weiblichen Unterrichte aber ganz wegfallen müssen." Ibid., v-vi.

[60] "Bei einer Geschichte für Töchter kommt es also nicht sowohl auf kritische Wahrheit und Vollständigkeit, als vielmehr auf den Zusammenhang der Erzählung mit dem Leben, und hier insbesondere mit dem Frauenleben an." Neudecker (1848), vol. 1, v.

educated. Thus the proliferation of geographic schoolbooks aimed at girls offers a window to a fundamental contradiction in the expansion of educational opportunities for young women during the late Enlightenment: even as more and more girls were given access to previously closed institutions, the gender stratification of spheres, moral systems, categories of knowledge, and educational purposes became more and more rigid.[61]

Geographic schoolbooks as instruments

Visual learning

Visual sources, including maps, atlases, and illustrations, offer other possibilities for considering children's learning practices and interventions in their own geographic education. According to Daniel Headrick, "pictures have a distinct advantage over both writing and numbers" for conveying information to the human mind, especially for small children.[62] Picturing spaces and places was probably always an important component of imaginative learning about the world, but as technologies developed to disseminate printed representations these materials became essential to children's geographic education. As Chenxi Tang writes, cartography in the years around 1800 "sought to help the individual orient himself in unwonted spaces, that is, to make the vast territory of his country, indeed the entire world, into an oriented space by imparting to him a specific kind of spatial judgment..."[63] This spatial judgment was a critical aim of children's geographic education. Schröckh, for example, lamented a lack of maps in his world history book:

> Furthermore, I wish immensely that lessons will be given about this book, not easy without maps. The student must always know and see into which part of the world history is taking him. This will also keep his eyes busy with a certain activity: and everyone knows how useful it is for youths always to

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[61] This recognition of contradictions produced by Enlightenment thought and social institutions of course owes a great debt to feminist theorists, most directly, Joan Scott in *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[62] Headrick, 97-98.
[63] Tang, 10.

> have their much more active imaginations entertained, alongside their sprouting intellects.[64]

Note that maps not only served geographic education for Schröckh, but also the need to entertain a new sort of child reader. The following section looks at maps, atlases, and illustrations for evidence about pedagogy and practice. Although luxurious atlases were reserved for the ownership of the most privileged children in the early nineteenth century, *Volksschule* classrooms increasingly required maps on the walls and globes on teachers' desks. Increased access to visual ways of learning about the world was not simply about technological advances, but, rather, reflected a growing appreciation for geographic thinking as a critical component of children's education.

Approximately one-tenth of the geography and world history schoolbooks I examined included maps, usually on larger sheets which folded out from the back of the volume. Of course, more books may have originally contained maps or offered them in special editions, since the fragile folding paper would have been easy to lose over the centuries. Books which did not include their own maps were often intended to be used with accompanying atlases (as the Schröckh quotation above indicates). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the 1851 edition of Cannabich's *Short School Geography* advertised on its title page a promotion à la late-night infomercials, discounts on a school atlas from the same printer.[65]

Of all the geography exercises Henning proposed, he believed visual interaction with maps was the most important: "One exercise of all the exercises...is copying the picture of

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[64] "Außerdem wünsche ich ungemein, daß über dieses Buch, nicht leicht ohne Landcharten, Unterricht ertheilt werde. Stets müsse der Lehrling wissen und sehen, in welche Gegend der Welt ihn die Geschichte führe. Dieses wird zugleich seinen Augen eine gewiße Beschäftigung geben: und man weiß wohl, wie dienlich es der Jugend sey, daß neben ihrem auf keimenden Verstande, ihre weit geschäftigere Einbildungskraft immer unterhalten werde." Schröckh, *Lehrbuch*, xi.

[65] "Der hierzu gehörige kleine Schulatlas in 24 Blatt von Ed. Beer ist für 1/2 Rthl. oder 54 kr. in allen Buchhandlungen zu haben." Cannabich (1851).

individual sections of the earth's surface, as depicted by maps, onto slate or onto paper."[66] This suggested more than passively regarding a teacher's map at the front of the room, but rather a moment of active engagement and creation. Henning thought maps were important not only because of the geographic information they conveyed, but even more so because the visual stimulation of figuring out a map was entertaining.

> this framework of learning on the map is in no way tedious and boring for children, but rather a very pleasant activity, because it consists not merely of dry memorization, but also of the comprehension of the map's picture and the relative positions of places, and of imaginative play...anyone who has observed the child's nature will give me my due, that children require the clearest, most vivid descriptions, and that nothing is more boring to them than the types of description that appear after the names of cities in geography textbooks...[67]

Once again, we see the introduction of amusement as a worthy goal and concomitant sentimentalization of children's education (with assertions about "the child's nature"). Henning went on to say that maps served learning better than recitation because the fun of playing with maps would make children better retain geographic facts.

Of course, maps were not simply a toy, but, rather, essential instruments of the establishment of a particular world view for children. As Mark Monmonier has written, "to present a useful and truthful picture, an accurate map must tell white lies. Because most map users willingly tolerate white lies on maps, it's not difficult for maps also to tell more serious

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[66] "Eine Uebung aller Uebungen (die Uebung im mündlichen Ausdruck geographischer Verhältnisse natürlich ausgenommen) ist das Abzeichnen des Bildes einzelner Theile der Erdoberfläche, wie es die Charte darstellt, auf der Schiefertafel oder auf Papier." Henning (1812), 490.

[67] "...dieses Ramenlernen auf der Charte den Kindern gar keine mühselige und langweilige, sondern vielmehr eine recht angenehme Beschäftigung ist; denn sie besteht keineswegs in bloßem trocknem Gedächtnißwerk, sondern auch im Auffassen des Bildes der Charte und der gegenseitigen Lage der Oerter, und in dem Spiel der Phantasie...Und dann wird mir jeder, der die kindliche Natur beobachtet hat, zugestehen, daß Kinder die anschaulichsten lebhaftesten Beschreibungen verlangen, und daß sie nichts mehr langweilt, als dergleichen Beschreibung seyn sollende Notizen, wie sie in den geographischen Lehrbüchern hinter den Namen der Städte stehen..." Henning (1812), 31-32.

lies."[68] For one example, take Gaspari's notation on the scale for maps accompanying his geography text:

> In order to have the same scale everywhere, the scale of Russia, being the largest European kingdom, has been set as the base. But since Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy turned out to be too small for their peculiar features to be noticeable, so the scale of Russia was taken five times for the first two and doubled for the latter two...The map of Europe based on the scale of Russia would have extended far beyond the fixed size, so its scale is only half as large.[69]

In other words, countries like Switzerland and the Netherlands in Western Europe deserved closer attention than the amorphous vastness of Russia, according to German children's reading.

Maps were ubiquitous, and helped tie together new pedagogic practices and sentimental childhood ideology. In a version of Mungo Park's travel narrative framed in a family dialogue that will be discussed further below, Christian Schulz sets the scene by observing that "Friedrich had to take the maps to hand here, so that he could indicate to his siblings any of the various places, regions, mountains, rivers, etc. that were mentioned."[70] Map reading here was a family activity, and essential to placing tales of adventure in their geographic context.

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[68] Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (1991), 1.

[69] "Um überall gleichen Maaßstab zu haben, ist der Maaßstab Rußlands, als des größten Europäischen Reichs, zum Grunde gelegt worden. Da aber die Schweiz, die Niederlande, Teutschland und Italien zu klein für ihre Merkwürdigkeiten ausgefallen seyn würden, so ist der Maaßstab von Rußland bei den zwei ersten fünfmal, und bei den zwei letztern doppelt genommen worden...Die Charte von Europa würde sich nach dem Maaßstabe von Rußland weit über das fest gesetzte Format erweitert haben; daher ist ihr Maaßstab nur halb so groß." Gaspari (1806), 7-8.

[70] "Friedrich mußte hier die Charte zur Hand nehmen um bei Nennung der verschiedenen Örter, Gegenden, Berge, Flüsse u. s. w. sie seinen Geschwistern bezeichnen zu können." M. Chr. Schulz, *Mungo Park's Reise in Afrika für die Jugend bearbeitet* (Berlin: Schüppelschen Buchhandlung, 1805), 8.

Figure 14. Fold-out map at the back of *Mungo Park's Journey in Africa* (1850)
Source: Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University.

Atlases provided the most obvious introduction to maps for child readers. Student atlases were produced in the earlier eighteenth century, but the real publishing explosion came in the 1820s and 1830s as atlases were created specifically with children in mind.[71] Perhaps the most widely disseminated was a school edition of Adolf Stieler's famous atlas, a *School Atlas on All Parts of the Earth*, published in dozens of editions throughout the early nineteenth century.[72]

Figure 15. "The globe in Mercator Projection. Also a map of Australia"

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[71] Historical atlases were especially popular after the French Revolution. See Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (1997), 26.

[72] For a discussion of the major Perthes publishing house which printed revisions of Stieler's atlases for more than a century, as well as other materials relevant to children's geographic education, see Max Linke, M. Hoffman, and J. A. Hellen, "Two Hundred Years of the Geographical-Cartographical Institute in Gotha," *The Geographical Journal* 152, no. 1 (1986): 75-80.

Plate IIb from Adolf Stieler's *Schul-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde* (1840)[73]
Source: Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

It included pages on the planets and mathematical geography, plates for particular European countries, greater detail on German states, and assorted maps of Asia, India, Africa, North America, Central America, and South America. Atlases were inherently participatory books, requiring a child reader to follow borders and locate places, translate legend symbols and interpret levels of representation, and make tracings and their own depictions of charts and maps. And atlases certainly could be read or played with by children for any number of purposes outside official geography class meetings.

In the earlier period, school atlases resembled more closely the general cartography for adult audiences. One example of a conservative model which persisted alongside newer notions of nurturing, amusing pedagogy is from the section of Gaspari's geography reader that served as a guide for students using atlases. Gaspari, who warned against making reading too easy for children in fear that it would lead to "mechanical reading," also defended his choice not to label maps with many place names: "I still think it is harmful, because the child always looks at only the names, and gives the location of objects in relation to one another hardly any attention."[74] Even as a description of undesirable or transgressive learning practice, this offers insight into how children might have tried to use maps as part of their geography studying—and, indeed, how they were explicitly taught to use maps in a later era of lushly decorated school atlases.

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[73] Adolf Stieler, *Schul-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1840).

[74] "Ich halte sie noch immer für schädlich, weil das Kind immer nur den Namen aufsucht, und auf die Lage der Gegenstände gegen einander fast gar nicht Acht giebt..." "Macht man ihnen das Lesen allzu leicht, so werden sie mechanische Leser." Adam Christian Gaspari, *Lehrbuch der Erdbeschreibung: zur Erläuterung des neuen methodischen Schulatlasses* (Weimar: Verlag des Geographischen Instituts, 1806), 7-8.

Karl Weiland's *Compendium Universal Atlas of the Whole World* exemplifies the genre, with its shifting content of map legends.[75] Of 30 maps in the collection, 21 depict regions of Europe (including Russia and Turkey). Legends on the European maps offered basic symbols to mark cities, market towns, forts, rivers, and mountains. There was variation within the level of detail on European sites: for example, Hannover and Brandenburg also had universities marked, while religious houses were included in the Swiss legend. The map of France devoted significant page space to a long, elaborate color-gird of the military divisions and departments, intended to be memorized and mentally attached to visual representations by the reading German child. A few categories which could have been included but did not appear are forests, famous historical sites, information on populations or languages, indigenous political borders, trade routes, and, strikingly, roads.

In the seven pages devoted to Asia, Africa, and the Americas, the legend was suddenly reduced to marking simply scale and European "possessions." Place names were labeled directly on the map, but there was no longer a legend key to identify large cities, villages, strongholds, etc. More surprisingly, the map of India, China, and Afghanistan marked the scale not only in geographic miles but also in Indian "Koss" and Chinese "Li." It may be that these units of measurement were included simply as an exotic ornamentation, but it could also have been intended to resonate with historical or trade-based descriptions of places that used those units.

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[75] Karl Ferdinand Weiland, *Compendiöser Allgemeiner Atlas der garzer Erde* (Weimar: Verlag der Geographischen Instituts, 1833).

Figure 16. "India, China and Afghanistan," Plate 25 from Weiland's atlas (1833)
Source: Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

Whatever the motivation, these choices certainly affected what children could learn about the world by exploring Weiland's representations. Cartography always involves choices but a youth audience highlights the explicit didactic or political nature of the choices that were made with children in mind.

In addition to textbook maps and school atlases, an important component of children's developing view of the world was the illustrations which accompanied more and more volumes into the nineteenth century. Earlier books rarely included pictures beyond the occasional opening frontispiece engraving, but as various technologies developed more and more color plates were printed, especially in biography galleries, travel narratives, and adventure fiction; this was part of the process by which children's books became associated with illustration today. The pages of Johann Christoph Heckel's *Atlas for Youth and All Enthusiasts of Geography* opened with a frontispiece typical of the period. A seated man (tutor,

father) holds a book in his right hand and points at a large map spread out on the table with his left; the three boys actively lean forward around the table, peering at the map.[76]

Figure 17. Frontispiece and title page to Johann Heckel's atlas (1791)
Source: Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University.

As the title and this picture indicate, the atlas was meant to inspire curiosity and participatory learning. Other frontispieces more explicitly invoked family or simply showed generic classical references.

Though full page illustrations were not universal, most books included some kind of ornamentation around the text of title pages or chapter openings. Even these simple drawings can be read for their contribution to shaping children's worldview through books. For example, at first glance the flowery borders around illustrations in Grumbach's *The Voyage Files* look like mere noise, but a child who valued this book might have spent time looking more closely. It showed non-European animals, birds, and lush plants twining

[76] Johann Heckel, *Atlas für die Jugend: und alle Liebhaber der Geographie* (Augspurg: Conrad Heinrich Stage, 1791).

around the central illustration, all evoking an exotic landscape for the child's imagination while simultaneously relegating the indigenous people of Africa, Asia, and the Americas to the level of curious flora and fauna.

Figure 18. Illustration from Grumbach's *The Voyage Files*
Source: Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University.

Unlike the exercises at the back of Henning's geography book (which predominantly focused on European questions even though the book covered other places), Grumbach's more entertainment-driven text attached most of its 13 illustrations to stories of Africans, Asians, and Native Americans (even though the book included sections on European peoples). The orientalist gaze was acquired early for young European readers.

An intriguing example comes from a text by Luise Hölder, who also wrote a Robinson story and other geographically minded books for young people. Her richly illustrated *Short World History* was presented in the form of a dialogue between a mother and

her children. It is interesting that the mother was considered a legitimate vehicle of teaching world history, including classical topics. This may have reflected the particularly young age of the intended audience (6 to 12 years old, according to the subtitle), but Hölder was not unique in this familial framing technique (see more below). The actual content was quite conventional and similar to world history textbooks for older students: the first volume covered the creation of the world to the birth of Christ while the second volume tackled Attila the Hun through Napoleon. But the most surprising element of the text comes through the illustrations. Rather than depicting the subjects of the narrative with typical classical scenes, these images showed children themselves dressed up as the historical figures and brandishing odd bits of props to act out the scene. One caption explained the ringleader's plan as he directed his siblings and pets in a reenactment of Noah's Ark: "Come, Miekchen, said Dietrich. We are the sons of Noah; these here are his animals, and you are our sister."[77] One plate even depicted a crowd of little children performing the abduction of the Sabine women. Clearly the dramatic action of the story was understood to function as an exciting draw for young students rather than a salacious episode that should be off-limits to child readers.

[77] "Kom, Miekchen, sagte Dietrich. Wir sind die Söhne Noahs; diese hier sind seine Thiere, und du bist unsere Schwester." Luise Hölder, *Neue Gesellschaftspiele und Unterhaltungen: zum Vergnügen und zur Uebung des Scarfsinns für die Jugend (*Ulm: J. Ebner'schen Buchhandlung, 1824), 14.

Figure 19. "And Romulus ordered [them] to carry out the Rape of the Sabine women."
Luise Hölder, *Short World History* (1823)
Source: Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University.

While these illustrations certainly reflect adult desires about how children should play and learn, or even a nostalgic, sentimental gaze, the fact that these pictures guided the young readers through the text means we also need to think about how children understood the illustrations. If we consider imaginative play and the power of imitation in other settings, it is certainly plausible that a child reader in the early nineteenth century would have participated in this kind of historical play, with or without illustrations as a model. It makes a strong case for the participation of children in their own learning and meaning-making about the world.

The role of teachers

When it comes to the part that teachers played in children's interactions with geographic texts, the books themselves offer descriptions or exhortations of practice. For example, Raff told his readers, "But it is not good for you, dear children! if we explain to

you everything that is in this book at once and in one way, right at the first read through. You [should] read it even still more often, and maybe two, three to six times through. And your teacher will always tell you something new. But your teacher only does that when he sees that you understand, and that you are quite diligent."[78] Obviously Raff thought his own work was worth rereading, but this comment also suggests that children were expected to seek understanding through reading before their teachers weighed in—and more interesting still, that many children were *not* diligent about their reading. Some texts were designed to be read independently, but even that was murky, as Feder's preface to Raff's book indicates: "This book is intended primarily for children's own reading. The presence of a teacher always remains necessary in the meantime, and his explanations and admissions could therefore and must be looked to."[79] Nösselt wrote that "The individuality of the teacher does of course a great deal" to shape students' attraction to history and their understanding of world figures.[80] He encouraged teachers to lecture according to their own research beyond the text.[81] And Schröckh noted that teachers have great freedom to navigate his text and its questions as best suited their purposes, but this was just as true for his child readers.[82]

It is clear, though, that expectations of teachers' participation varied. This makes sense, given the great range of educational environments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gaspari wrote that he had "taken into consideration those whose entire

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[78] "Aber es ist nicht gut für euch, lieben Kinder! wenn man euch alles, was in diesem Buche steht, gleich beim ersten Durchlesen auf einmal, und in einem weg, erkläret.— Ihr leset es ja noch öfter, und wol noch zwei- drei- bis sechsmal durch. Und allemal wird euch euer Lehrer etwas Neues sagen.— Aber das thut euer Lehrer nur, wenn er sieht, daß ihrs versteht, und daß ihr recht fleissig seyd." Raff, 2-3.

[79] "...das Buch vornehmlich zum eigenen Lesen der Kinder bestimmt ist. Ein Lehrer bleibt unterdessen immer dabei nötig; und auf Erläuterungen und Zulasse desselben konnte daher und musste gerechnet werden." Raff (1776), viii-ix.

[80] "Die Individualität des Lehrers thut dabei freilich viel" *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte für Töchterschulen* (1827), v.

[81] "Beim Vortrage nach dem Lehrbuche erinnert er noch angehende Lehrer, nicht etwa die Geschichte den Schülerinnen bloß vorzulesen, wodurch die Lebendigkeit des Vortrages verliert, sondern vor der Stunde den durchzunehmenden Abschnitt genau durchzulesen, und nun einen möglichst freien Vortrag zu halten." Ibid., viii.

[82] "Bey diesen Fragen behält der Lehrer eine grosse Freyheit." Schröckh (1774), ix.

geographic education is restricted to a single course, e.g. in *Bürgerschulen*, where no scholars, no people of superb knowledge are to be formed."[83] The note suggests that one task for an author was to judge how much ancillary material to include to explain around the text for children, the adults reading with them, or both. Lüben proposed that his *Guide* could be used for self-teaching, but noted that a teacher would supplant the need for the written exercises he included. As far as Henning was concerned, young geography students could not necessarily rely on the adults in their lives to guide their reading.

> Many wished for a book that could be at hand for parents and teachers if they wanted to acquaint their pupils with the homeland. I envisioned all the children who are seated on the school bench, and come away from it into professional life; I thought of the parents and teachers, who themselves have no knowledge of their country, and therefore also do not know how to guide their pupils toward it.[84]

He articulated both a purpose for geographic education—future professions—and a likely impediment—lack of adult supervision.

Because Henning's 1812 book was both manual and textbook, it was particularly rich in insights into practices, whether ideal or reflections of common challenged in geography instruction. He gave very specific instructions about where the globe should be in a classroom (the north wall), how maps should be used (so that all children could see), and how the schoolroom should be laid out to best facilitate learning (by imagining the walls and floor mapped onto global features like the poles and the equator).[85]

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[83] "Ich habe nämlich auf diejenigen Rücksicht genommen, deren ganzer geographischer Unterricht auf einen einzigen Cursus eingeschränkt ist; z. B. auf Bürgerschulen; wo keine Gelehrte, keine Leute von vorzüglichen Kenntnissen gezogen werden sollen." Gaspari (1806), 4-5.

[84] "Viele wünschten ein Buch, was Eltern und Lehrern zur Hand seyn könnte, wenn sie ihre Zöglinge mit der Heimath bekannt machen wollten.– Ich stellte mir alle die Kinder vor, die auf die Schulbank gesetzt werden, und von ihr weg in 's Berufsleben kommen; ich stellte mir die Eltern und Lehrer vor, bis selbst keine Kenntniß ihres Landes haben, und also ihre Zöglinge auch nicht dazu anzuleiten wissen." Henning (1812), 22-23.

[85] Henning (1812), 52-53 and 65.

While the teachers had flexibility to respond to their students' level (according to a number of authors), the question-answer catechism as simulated by Henning does not seem to have allowed for a lot of flexibility from children:

> Teacher: Do you know what to call these two principal parts into which everything visible can immediately be separated at first glance? You have probably often heard these names and uttered them yourselves.
> Children: Will probably answer: heaven and earth.
> When I wave my hand, say, all together, quietly rather than loudly and not faster than I, what I want to say for you now:
> "Outside, we see heaven and earth."
> The teacher waves, the children repeat, "outside, etc."[86]

The question-answer catechism was not the only way geographic knowledge was transmitted and tested in Henning's model. As did other authors, he included a set of written exercises at the back of the volume: "Only sustained, varied practice gives diversified skill, so here many and varied exercises must also be employed if the student is to orientate himself with ease and confidence within the current political boundaries on the earth's surface."[87] A list of questions followed dealing with which rivers were part of which states, where their borders lay, and so on. Surprisingly, most of the questions were concerned with European geography, even though a significant portion of the text was devoted to other parts of the world. It implies that even though descriptions of non-European places were included, in practice students probably spent most of their time on geography closer to home.

Much as this chapter uses geographic schoolbooks as a window into children's education more broadly, Henning connected geographic study to creative, autonomous

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[86] "Wißt ihr, wie man diese beiden Haupttheile nennt, in welche sich beim ersten Blick sogleich alles Sichtbare absondert? Ihr habt diese Name wahrscheinlich schon oft nennen gehört und selbst ausgesprochen. Kinder. Werden wahrscheinlich antworten: Himmel und Erde. Wann ich mit der Hand winken werde, so sprechet alle gemeinschaftlich zusammen, eher leise als laut und nicht schneller als ich, was ich euch jetzt vorsprechen will: 'Draußen sieht man Himmel und Erde.' Der Lehrer winkt, die Kinder sprechen nach: 'draußen u.s.w.'" Henning (1812), 80.

[87] "Nur lange fortgesetzte vielseitige Uebung giebt vielseitige Fertigkeit, darum müssen auch hier viele und vielseitige Uebungen angestellt werden, wenn sich der Lehrling nach den gegenwärtig bestehenden politischen Grenzen mit Leichtigkeit und Sicherheit auf der Erdoberfläche orientiren soll." Henning (1812), 564.

learning. However, he suggested that young children should focus on mastering the specifics of geography before moving to a higher level.

> But furthermore these exercises also have a formal purpose: One studies only in order to master a new field and a new creative power. The exercise encourages the autonomous activity of the student...But at the level of schooling when geography begins, the formal purpose cannot be the main but rather only a secondary purpose, because at this stage the required degree of awakened understanding and independent activity is rightly presupposed, and through instruction in geography it is not so much that the mental powers should be exercised, as that the young, aspiring spirit should be introduced to this scientific field.[88]

Pestalozzi disciples like Henning may have been more radical than other teachers in their professed aims to emancipate learners from oppressive, rote, authoritarian schooling, but even in this passage it is worth noting that the autonomy Henning desired to dole out in small measures to particular classes was not entirely within his control. Children responded to their geographic education in ways that cannot be entirely predicted by the hopes of authors and pedagogues.

Children themselves could seize opportunities in the texts and in their broader education to redefine the meaning of geographic learning from the abstract productions of adults. Even the seemingly rigid question-answer recitation format, which was becoming less common in this period, could be altered in reading practice by children skipping some sections, lingering on others, or modifying answers. But by converting Curas's 1723 recitation-based history to a volume of prose chapters divided into short sections, Schröckh suggested that studying the world and its history was in fact better served by more open-ended and narrative content open to children's agency.

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[88] "Aber außerdem haben diese Uebungen auch einen formellen Zweck. Man lernt ja nur, um ein neues Gebiet und eine neue Kraft des Schaffens zu gewinnen. Die Uebung regt die Selbsthätigkeit des Schülers an...Doch kann auf der Stufe des Schulunterrichts, wo die Erdkunde eintritt, der formale Zweck nicht Haupt- sondern nur Nebenzweck seyn, weil auf dieser Stufe der hierzu erforderliche Grad des geweckten Verstandes und der Selbstthätigkeit mit Recht vorausgesetzt wird, und durch den Unterricht in der Geographie nicht sowohl die Geisteskräfte geübt, als der junge aufstrebende Geist in das Gebiet dieser Wissenschaft eingeführt werden soll." Henning (1812), 483.

> Some teachers...would in all comfort hear recitations of memorized answers at such a lecture; but very seldom be assured that the same is understood by their students, and in fact subject them to a kind of torture, which quite reduces their desire for history. So it is my intention therefore that they should first be told the story: sometimes shorter, sometimes more extensively, sometimes also in somewhat different words than are used in the book.[89]

While Schröckh spoke here to the flexibility of teachers, the same principles applied for children's selective reading.

A fascinating moment occurs in the introduction to Gaspari's *Geography Reader* when he meditates on the questions children might ask:

> But we must distinguish an inopportune curiosity from a sincere drive for learning, which one recognizes most easily when one attends to whether the question relates with the lessons, concealed in the [lessons], and may come forth from the [lessons] naturally without a mental leap. Children ask questions often and wonderingly, especially the lively [ones]; if their question is a mere invention, they themselves hardly expect an answer, and then the question is not even worthy of response.[90]

He does concede that children also sometimes ask questions reflecting on what they've already learned, and then deserve an answer. But his cranky advice to teachers to ignore obvious or irrelevant questions certainly invites the interpretation that children often did bring their own curiosity, mischief, and confusion to geography lessons.

Finally, when considering schoolbooks for evidence of children's transactional reading, agency, and participation in the development of geographic pedagogy, it is worth observing that even the authors of these texts, as much value as they gave to reading, were

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[89] "Manche Lehrer...würden bey einem solchen Vortrage zwar mit aller Bequemlichkeit die auswendig gelernten Antworten hersagen hören; aber sehr selten versichert seyn können, daß dieselben von ihren Schülern verstanden werden, und diese vielmehr auf eine Art martern, welche ihre Lust zur Geschichte ziemlich vermindert. Nach meiner Absicht also soll ihnen die Geschichte erst erzählt werden: bald kürzer, bald weitläufiger, bald auch in etwas andern Worten als in dem Buche gebraucht worden sind." Ibid.

[90] "Nur muß man eine unzeitige Neugierde von einem aufrichtigen Triebe nach Belehrung unterscheiden, welches man am leichtesten erkennt, wenn man Acht giebt, ob die Frage mit dem Unterrichte zusammenhänge, in demselben versteckt liege, und aus demselben ohne eine Sprung der Gedanken ganz natürlich hervorkomme. Kinder fragen oft und wunderlich besonders die muntern; ist ihre Frage ein bloßer einfall, so erwarten sie selbst kaum die Antwort, und dann ist die Frage auch keiner Antwort werth." Gaspari (1806), 6.

nervous about students' interactions with books. The mysterious relationship between an individual reader and a book, even simple geography readers, posed a number of threats against which children must be guarded. Rockstroh warned against reading without thinking, and other authors impressed upon adults the importance of not letting children wander through their interpretations of the world by handling a book without a guide. The Enlightenment virtue of cultivating of self-control appeared in these anxieties about children's reading behavior in school and in learning about the world.

Altering texts

The textbooks allow us to trace developments in the pedagogy of geographic education and, in turn, some likely ways in which reading changed children's geographic learning. But what do we know about what children really did during and in response to this instruction? This study is predicated throughout on the suspicion that books were not always read in the precise way intended by the authors, just as students did not always absorb knowledge exactly as dictated by teachers. In this section, I turn to more direct evidence of how young people used their schoolbooks in practice, examples of geographic texts that have been altered in various ways. These alterations, including readers' notes, marginalia, and other writing in books, alternately show child readers exercising agency and the disciplining aspects of their education. Rather than a systematic taxonomy of the provocative but elusive traces left in books, I offer here some illustrative examples and questions they invite.

Marginal writing in geography and world history schoolbooks allows a glimpse into geographic education as it was experienced by particular, if often anonymous, individuals. The marginalia I have found in young people's textbooks range from doodles and signature practicing, to underlining and other incidental marks, to full-blown reading notes scrawled in the margins, on endpapers, and even between lines of text. Marginalia in schoolbooks offer a

more direct look at the relationship between a child reader and a text, marking the choices that children made about what knowledge mattered or, in some cases, should be modified. As well as illuminating the reading practices of young people in a particular historical moment, these acts of annotating hold a variety of implications for changes in the socialization of children across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I identify here a range of those possible consequences for how we can understand children's geographic reading.

Marginalia have only relatively recently become important to studies of reading, largely because of the challenges involved in tracking anonymous scribbles and deciphering the mysterious relationship between individual reader and text.[91] In a field-launching book catalogue, Roger Stoddard wrote, "In and around, beneath and across [the obvious features of books] we may find traces—some bold, some indistinct—that could teach us a lot if we could make them out..."[92] Marginal writing in books is a rich but untapped source for the history of childhood. Heather Jackson has suggested that in fact children's marginalia reveals fundamental truths about reading in general "in a particularly raw state."[93] Jackson's analysis of the "assertions" of filling blank spaces in a book also supports the understanding of children's marginalia as a kind of agency.

It is worth clarifying that in the *longue durée* history of marginalia, writing in books was not necessarily a transgressive act. Today, as William Sherman notes, the book trade refers to texts without any user annotation as "honest" books.[94] But Stephen Orgel describes the development of our contemporary fetishizing of clean books as "one of the strangest

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[91] See H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (2001); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (2008).
[92] Roger Stoddard, "Looking at Marks in Books," *Gazette of the Grolier Club*, n.s., 51 (2000), 27.
[93] Jackson, 19.
[94] Sherman, 164.

phenomena of modern bibliophilic and curatorial psychology.'"[95] Sherman suggests that the prohibition against writing in books may have derived somehow from the civilizing process of the eighteenth century. However, I argue that for children at least, the encouragement of marginal annotations in schoolbooks was all about developing mastery of the text as prized by Enlightenment pedagogues.

The marginalia I have discovered in German geography and world history schoolbooks often indicated simultaneously the annotator's deference to normative reading practices in geographic education and yet also the potential for reading autonomy. Sometimes the phrases recorded in the margins simply provided a summary of the passage being glossed. This kind of annotation could aid both memory and comprehension, as the reader is creating a sort of index to the text that will make it easier to read the chapters out of order or skim for needed information. Both goals expressed a possibility of agency on the youth reader's part. On several occasions, we see evidence of the child's individual interpretation of the provided knowledge through the creation of little representative schema in the margins marking genealogies or mapping conceptual relationships. But this potentially self-directed marking could also simply underscore what was considered important historical or geographic information by the textual or instructional authority.

I now turn to three examples of alterations made by readers to three different geographic texts. First, sometime after it was purchased for or by its young owner, a particular copy of Friedrich Nösselt's *Short Geography* received an interesting addition.[96]

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[95] Stephen Orgel, "Margins of Truth" in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 92.

[96] Nösselt, *Kleine Geographie für Töchterschulen und die Gebildeten des weiblichen Geschlechts* (Königsberg: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1857). Copy held at the Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

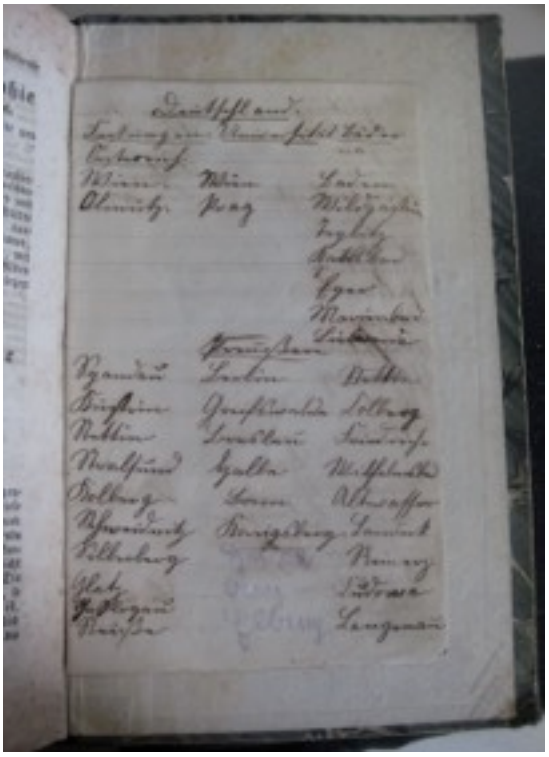

Figure 20. Notes sewn into the back of one copy of Friedrich Nösselt's *Short Geography* (1857).
Source: Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

A student sewed eight pages of notepaper into the back of the book and covered these sheets with working notes and scribbles. Notwithstanding an initial thrill of seeing a "real child reader" in evidence, these pages could prove rather disappointing for historians, as the writer was mostly concerned with practicing names of cities, rivers, mountains, and so on in the same dry, contextless manner of the textbook itself. There are perhaps no grand insights about the nature of space, or the meaning of global relations to be won here. But in the very fact of its existence—the *written* exercise of a single student interacting with and modifying the geographic knowledge conveyed by a textbook—these pages point to the key role geography education played in a particular kind of learning experience. Whether these notes were taken by a private pupil, or as a study tool in preparation for more traditional methods

of instruction at a girls' secondary school, the otherwise voiceless student has literally marked the book with her own reading outside the intended use.

In the case of the second example, the anonymous owner of Paul Nitsch's *Short Outline of Ancient Geography* wrote marginal comments and emendations on about 70 pages of one copy.[97] The notes were made in two different pens, most in German *Handschrift*, but some in Latin writing. The annotator was liberal with crossing out and underlining within text, and seems to have made some marks to indicate how far reading or studying had advanced. But it is the changes to the geographic information that are most fascinating. The writer frequently wrote in different versions of place names (for example, underlining "Mauretanian" and writing "Numidien" in its place) or changed the spelling (as in altering "Messania" to "MessEnia").[98] Other terms also got a pen stroke, such as "Kaiser" replaced with "König" before the name of Tullus Hostilius. Was such a change simply a matter of definition, a preference for the Germanic term, or a genuine correction of an anachronism (after all, Tullus (673-642) really was a king of Rome, not an emperor)? It is also possible that the student chose to translate to a more familiar term, or was instructed to make this change by a teacher. The endpapers of this book also do not disappoint, where, in addition to the usual practicing of letters and signature, the reader has written a wobbly list of 14 books to be read or purchased with numbers (representing prices?), such as Ovid, Robinson Crusoe, an atlas, and Nitsch (this very book). This was all followed up by a large sketch of a man with a mustache on the back cover.

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[97] *Kurzer Entwurf der alten Geographie* (1792). Copy held at the Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.
[98] Paul Friedrich Achat Nitsch, *Kurzer Entwurf der alten Geographie* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1792), 292 and 75.

Figure 21. Scribbles and doodles on the back board of Paul Nitsch's *Short Outline of Ancient Geography* (1792)
Source: Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

The third example, a particularly well-scribbled volume, is part of a series by Johann Matthias Schröckh quoted throughout this chapter.[99] Schröckh based his two world history schoolbooks on an earlier text (1723) by Hilmar Curas. The *Reader of Universal World History* was published in at least six editions between 1774 and 1816 in Berlin; the longer, multi-volume *Universal World History for Children* was published in at least 4 editions between 1779 and 1784 in Leipzig. Like Franz's reader mentioned above in the discussion of book formats, this particular text was printed with plenty of space on both sides of the text and frequent section headings listed in the margins which listed the topic and located the passage

[99] Copy held at the Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung.

chronologically. This format may have directly invited marginalia—at least, it seems far more inviting to marginal writing than the older Curas book was.

The marginalia in the 1774 edition of Schröckh's *Reader* are longer and more narrative than the writing in the copy of Nitsch's text, perhaps reflecting a difference between Nitsch's more encyclopedic-listing geography and the longer chapters of Schröckh's world history. Some of the notes seem to be framed as answers to the questions with which Schröckh began each section, but many of the marginal marks are numbers. Schröckh's revision of the Curas original especially revised the periodization and emphasized chronology, so perhaps the glossing of dates by the annotator reflects that focus on temporality. Were such notes created in order to understand better while reading, to mark important moments for later reference and study, or simply to alter the text as part of the child's interactions with the book? The marginal comments in this example intriguingly only begin a quarter of the way into the volume—was the first section not assigned? Did the annotator grow more used to his or her possession? Were some parts simply more interesting to the reader or more demanding of study notes?

Most of the notes were in pen, though some were pencil—both from the same hand. Most of the notes were written in the old German *Handschrift* alphabet, though it occasionally switched to Roman letters for classical names. The placement of the notes was quite respectable, almost prim: most were written neatly in margins, although some were squeezed between lines. In addition, the reader added some underlining within the text, and x's after sentences to mark progress in the text. Occasionally printed letters, words, and dates were altered. Finally, towards the end of the book the reader's attention seems to have wandered enough to include a little abstract doodling.

In this case, the reader seems to have produced five basic types of marginalia: one, noting key terms from the text; two, summarizing or condensing information in the adjacent passage; three, expanding the adjacent passage by adding information from some other source—a teacher's instruction? earlier reading? common knowledge?—; four, modifying the text, even in minor ways; and five, creating schema for representing the information through scribbles in the margins. Four potential purposes of these kinds of marginal writing that seem likely or significant to me: to aid memory, to aid comprehension, to practice writing, and finally the most interesting, but perhaps the most difficult to claim: notes written out of mischief, inattention, disobedience, confusion, or simply incorrect reading.

Consider, for example, the first instance of marginalia, which came next to a discussion of human innovations in the Fertile Crescent. The student wrote several Old Testament names: Jubal, Cain, and Hanoch. The obvious purpose seems to have been to link those figures to the topic of this chapter and to ensure memorization of details which the student would be expected to recite. This kind of annotation was probably understood as not only acceptable but standard practice. And yet it does reflect the technological change and widening literacy at the end of the eighteenth century which allowed children to use books in this way. Since the first of those names, "Jubal," was written three times, each a slightly different way, I surmise a secondary purpose of this kind of annotation: using any random paper to practice forming letters. This type seems a step removed from the more sanctioned simple note-taking.

Changes or additions to the text are clearly the most exciting type of student annotation. Where these were substantial—that is, more significant than filling in the missing "d" and "t" in the misprinted word "deutschen"—there was still a wide range of possible interpretations. Did edits express political disagreements? Were some changes made by the

instruction of a teacher? Was it a mistake, or a geographic or historical fact about which there was disagreement? Or could some of the changes be made simply to play, to mess with the book? In at least one example, the addition of information to the text seems to have been made to aid comprehension. In a passage on ancient Greek geography, the reader inserted an almost imperceptible set of parentheses around several clauses. The sentence, a typical German extravagance, reads "Early on, the Pelasgians, whose living spaces were too constricted, also penetrated Greece proper, **(**of which nearly the whole people of Græcus, a leader from the Pelasgian house, obtained the area**)** and as far as Thessaly."[100] The annotator added the parentheses around "of which" and "occupied the area," which I believe was intended to make the meaning clearer, connecting "Greece proper" to "as far as Thessaly."

Gleaning meaning from a pair of penciled parentheses may seem a little petty. Why are these irregular, often pedestrian, sometimes indecipherable marks in one book interesting? The types and purposes of marginalia I have identified all speak to child readers doing something other than passively receiving the text and their instruction. Although these examples are offered as illustrations, future research may provide further answers about young readers' annotating practices and the material relationship between child and book through a systematic investigation of text alterations across volumes.

[100] "Zeitig drangen auch die Pelasger, denen ihre Wohnplätze zu enge wurden, in das eigentliche Griechenland, **(**das nebst dem ganze Volcke vom Grăcus, einem Anführer pelasgischer Stämme, den Rahmen bekam,**)** und bis nach Theßalien ein." Schröckh 1774, 83.

World Perspectives for the Active Child Reader: Changing Geographic Content

This section of the chapter turns from geographic literacy *practices* to the geographic *content* produced by that changing education. To demonstrate the part that geography played in the the cultivation of a new middle-class German child subjectivity, I explore how children were placed in the world and what that world looked like. Through their geographic reading, children could locate themselves in the world through those texts' contradictory emphasis on the very local (the home) and the global (as armchair explorers). The world they would thus come to know was shaped by the changing geographic imagination of adult Europeans.

Locating children in the world

The world at home

The incorporation of bourgeois domesticity in children's geographic education reflected a development in geographic epistemology more broadly. German schoolbooks owed a debt to Rousseau for the intertwining of sentimental approaches to the family and geographic education, as Chenxi Tang has written,

> Such experiences are emotionally charged. The father's house is a site of security but may also have its secrets. The river in the child's village conveys his longings and dreams. In proposing to take the child's intimate spatial experiences of his home and hometown as the starting point of geography lessons, Rousseau fundamentally reconceived the nature of geographic knowledge[101]

The Romantics took this further in their attempts to make the world "as oriented as the home."[102] Children's orientation in space, as shaped by their reading of schoolbooks, started in the most local way, with the middle-class family home. Most literally, this opening

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[101] Tang, 42.
[102] Tang, 10-11.

happened in the common frontispiece to schoolbooks around 1800 which depicted children with either a father or both parents, learning the world in a domestic setting.

Figure 22. Frontispiece to Luise Hölder's *Robinson the Younger's Return Journey to his Island in the Company of his Children*[103]
Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung.

Henning particularly emphasized early childhood in the family home as a crucial time for the introduction of geography by parents:

> The preparation for geography or elementary geography should be free, observational, circumspect, intellectual, lively, and even when not appearing organized and clearly planned, at least always directed by a solid plan and overseen [as part of] the life of parents and tutor with their children in nature.– One must name everything that children see in field and forest and meadow for them, and if they forget it, start anew. Just give them not too much to retain all at once, but rather accustom them to considering a subject

[103] Luise Hölder, *Rückreise Robinsons des Jüngern nach seinem Eilande in Begleitung seiner Kinder: Ein moralisches und naturhistorisches Lesebuch für die Jugend* (Nürnberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1827).

> often and at length and from different angles with diligence, as well as comparing it with other things already discovered.[104]

The responsibility Henning placed on the parents for cultivating a spirit of geographic discovery—and particularly on mothers—was in line with Pestalozzi's general pedagogic philosophy about early childhood education, and prefigured Friedrich Fröbel's development of kindergarten.

One interesting book from 1805 offers a particularly effective illustration of the relationship between bourgeois domesticity and the geographic orientation of young German readers. It is a translation and adaptation (by Christian Schulz) of Scottish explorer Mungo Park's travel narrative. This version of *Mungo Park's Travels in Africa: Edited for Youth* was published just after Park's second expedition in Africa disappeared.[105] Schulz's text served many of the same purposes for German children that Park's original narrative did for British readers, "[making] it possible for expansionist-minded Europeans to imagine themselves as a welcome and positive force," as Kate Ferguson Marsters suggests.[106] But in

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[104] "Die Vorbereitung zur Erdkunde oder die Elementargeographie sey ein freies, beobachtendes, besonnenes, geistiges, reges, und wenn auch nicht geordnet und planmäßig scheinendes, doch nach einem festen Plan stets geleitetes und überblicktes Leben der Eltern und Hauslehrer mit ihren Kinder in der Natur.– Alles, was die Kinder sehen in Feld und Wald und Wiese benenne man ihnen, und, wenn sie es vergessen, immer wieder von neuem. Nur gebe man ihnen mit Einein Mal nicht zu viel zu behalten, sondern gewöhne sie vielmehr, eine Gegenstand lange und oftmals und von verschiedenen Seiten mit Fleiß zu betrachten, und mit andern schon erkannten Dingen zu vergleichen." Henning (1812), 45-46.

[105] *Mungo Park's Reise in Afrika: für die Jugend bearbeitet* (1805). Iris Schröder describes Mungo Park's narrative as a key text in the transnational development of professional and public geography, 9. The legacy of Mungo Park specifically for young readers has stretched far and wide. Kate Ferguson Marsters notes that throughout the nineteenth century, copies of Park's *Travels* were given as school prizes to boys in the United States and Britain. Kate Ferguson Marsters, Introduction to *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, by Mungo Park* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000). In 1997, a journalist for *Natural History* interviewed a hunter on a logging concession in Cameroon who explained his motivation to pursue the so-called bushmeat trade this way: "'In school I read the diaries of Mungo Park and The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. I thought if these men can have their adventures, I can have mine too, so I came here.'" Michael McRae, "Road Kill in Cameroon," *Natural History,* February 1997. Cited in Marsters (2000).

[106] Marsters, introduction, 2.

the course of his "translation," it is no great surprise that Schulz heavily revised the original English text for a German audience (most notably by stressing an anti-slavery message).[107]

What is much more interesting is that Schulz chose to set the story in a frame narrative of family dialogue, the result of a winter evening's conversation between Herr Ehrenwerth and his children.[108] The opening paragraph of the introduction is full of familiar imperialist imagery about the interior of "darkest Africa," but the second paragraph elaborates the family setting, presenting "an affectionate father of very respectable character, [with] industrious and well-constituted children. He loved them immensely and it was his greatest pleasure to see them in their circle."[109] Schulz writes that this father devoted several hours each night to his children's education, after finishing his own business of the day. For their part,

> his obedient children, who strove for nothing more than to please their parents, took just as much pleasure from seeing this good father in their midst...He also no doubt told them a little story as a good reward, but not of witches, ghosts, and goblins, but rather from the real world; he drew their attention to the causes and effects of events, and developed for them the characters of the individuals involved. They listened to this with undivided attention, because in this manner they learned some things, and always grew cleverer, better and more sensible.[110]

Three aspects of this description, a model intended for imitation by the real child readers holding this volume, bear particular attention: First, we can see once again the sentimentalization of discipline that characterized changing ideas about bourgeois children's

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[107] This adaptation was part of a series by Schulz; the other example I have examined was published around the same time: *I. G. Stedmann's Reisen in Surinam für die Jugend bearbeitet.*

[108] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the practice of dialogue in other genres.

[109] "ein zärtlicher Hausvater von sehr biedern Charakter, hatte fleißige und wohlgeartete Kinder. Er liebte sie ungemein und es war sein größtes Vergnügen, sich in ihrem Zirkel zu sehen." Schulz (1805), 2.

[110] "Seine folgsamen Kinder, deren ganzes Bestreben nur dahin ging, ihren Aeltern zu gefallen, freuten sich eben so sehr, diesen guten Vater in ihrer Mitte zu sehen....Er erzählte ihnen auch wohl zur Belohnung eine kleine Geschichte, aber nicht von Heren, Gespenstern und Kobolden, sondern aus der wirklichen Welt, machte sie auf die Ursachen und Wirkungen der Begebenheiten aufmerksam, und entwickelte ihnen die Charaktere der handelnden Personen. Sie hörten dieß alles mit ungetheilter Aufmerksamkeit an, weil sie dadurch manches lernten, und immer klüger, besser und verständiger wurden." Schulz (1805), 4-5.

education through this era. Obedience and affection were bound together (for further discussion, see especially chapter 2 and chapter 5). Second, Schulz exhibits clear concern for children's amusement while they learn, though he guards against the fanciful frivolities of "witches, ghosts, and goblins." Third, this framing scene of the focused child listeners underscores pedagogues' newly intense interest in capturing children's attention, as well as the moral qualities of development.

Following this introduction, the main part of the book unfolds as Luise, 10, Friedrich, 9, and Wilhelm, 8, ask questions of their father while he relates the story of the Mungo Park expedition, with frequent references to geography. A sample exchange:

> Luise: But has there not already long been—I am thinking here of Colonada's treasures—trade with the coasts of Africa?
> Ehrenwerth: You're right, my daughter, the most famous European trading nations, in particular the English, have had their trading posts on the coasts as well as at the mouths and shores of great rivers, such as the Gambia, but no-one has ever dared to penetrate deeper into the interior. Only men such as our Mungo Park could dare such an undertaking.[111]

Note here that even if her geographic knowledge and tone seem closer to that of the author than a typical ten-year-old, Luise's active participation is crucial to the dialogical method. In addition to classic language concerning European penetration into the interior of Africa, her father's reply invites identification with the adventurer, "our Mungo Park."[112]

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[111] "Luise. Aber hat man nicht schon längst, ich erinnere mich hier Colconda's Schätze, nach den Küsten Afrika's gehandelt?— Ehrenwerth. Du hast Recht, meine Tochter, an den Küsten so wie an den Mündungen und Ufern großer Ströme, wie z. B. am Gambia, haben die berühmtesten handelnden europäischen Nationen, namentlich auch die Engländer, ihre Faktoreien gehabt, aber nie hat man sich gewagt, weiter in das Innere vorzudringen. Nur Männer, wie unser Mungo Park, konnten ein solches Unternehmen wagen." Schulz (1805), 12-13.

[112] On the long history of sexual and spatial metaphors which framed European imaginings of the African continent as an empty, penetratable body, see (among others) Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Johannes Fabian, *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Africa Observed: Discourses of the Imperial Imagination" in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, ed. Rory Richard Grinker, Stephen C. Lubkemann, and Christopher B. Steiner (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 31-43.

The depiction of the father's teaching and storytelling hit all the markers of the new geographic education ideals. For example, Schulz describes how gladly Ehrenwerth conducted his children's education, writing, "He loved very much to take a walk on fine summer days with his family in the open fields, or a foray into the dense forest or in the lovely gardens. Here he introduced them to the surrounding objects in large and small."[113] Notice the emphasis (with echoes of Rousseau) on the power of individual observation and experience and nature. Schulz offered an idealistic model for how his child readers should themselves interact with parent educators, in which "all were allowed to interrupt their father's story with items they did not understand, or about which they wanted a closer explanation."[114] Although he certainly expected children's attention to be closely focused on the geography and history they were learning, this vision included a relative degree of autonomy for children as learners. Schulz also explicitly promoted the utility of storytelling as a pedagogic instrument, describing the pleasure of a geographically-fired imagination: "Since there was always something to marvel at, to hope, to fear, to abhor, or to ask, while their vivid imagination was constantly busy with new items."[115] Buying books like this adaptation of Mungo Park's narrative would not only fill young readers' minds with knowledge but also inspire their attention and imagination.

However cloying or unrealistic this depiction of the best of fathers and most obedient of children may seem, what is striking about this text is how geographic learning is bound to familial love: "They had become so used to his affectionate handling that it became the most powerful impulse for them to make themselves—through excellent, good, moral

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[113] "Er liebte es sehr, bei schönen Sommertagen mit den Seinen sich zuweilen einen Spaziergang auf das offene Feld, oder einen Streifzug in den dichten Forst oder in die reizenden Gärten zu machen. Hier machte er sie mit den sie umgebenden Gegenständen im Großen wie im Kleinen bekannt." Schulz (1805), 4.
[114] "alle hatten die Erlaubnis, ihren Vater, bei Gegenständen, die sie nicht verstanden, oder worüber sie sich eine nähere Erklärung wünschten, in seiner Erzählung unterbrechen zu dürfen." Schulz (1805), 8.
[115] "Da gab es immer etwas zu bewundern, zu hoffen, zu fürchten, zu verabscheuen, oder auch zu fragen, während sich ihre lebhafte Einbildungskraft beständig mit neuen Gegenständen beschäftigte." Schulz (1805), 6.

behavior and constant hard work—ever more and more worthy of [their father's] love and approbation."[116] Learning, including the study of geography and faraway places, was thus located in the home.

Children as explorers

The second way in which children were located in the world through their geographic education might at first glance seem to contradict this point about setting geography in the domestic sphere: that is, the essentially modern orienting of children in space as discoverers and the elevation of the individual student's experience. But this kind of orienting of the child audience was completely reconcilable with the emphasis on home and family. Children were the quintessential armchair travelers, "armchair geographers," in fact, since this subjectivity was developed and expressed through reading.[117] The model of the child reader as explorer was made possible by framing geographic knowledge in homeyness. This arose especially through young people's consumption of the personal narratives of geographers, natural scientists, explorers, and fictional adventure stories (for example, the wildly popular Robinson Crusoe derivatives, including pedagogue Joachim Campe's *Robinson the Younger*).[118]

This attitude toward exploration and discovery was part of schoolbooks as well, as in Raff's description of the sights and senses brought by a journey through the world with his geography textbook:

> Another time, we might lead you to a merchant or in a spice shop.– Now we visit artists and craftsmen with you. And finally you will also hear whether

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[116] "Sie hatten sich so sehr an seinen liebevollen Umgang gewöhnt, daß es ihnen der mächtigste Antrieb wurde, durch ausgezeichnetes, gutes, sittliches Verhalten und immer wegen Fleiß sich des Beifalls und der Liebe desselben stets mehr und mehr würdig zu machen." Schulz (1805), 5.

[117] "To feed the imagination on the lands of gold and spice of which the explorers wrote was...to nourish the creative self on a diet of imperialism." Tim Fulford and Debbie Lee, "Mental Travelers: Joseph Banks, Mungo Park, and the Romantic Imagination," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 24, no. 2 (2002): 118.

[118] *Robinson der Jüngere* (1780). See Richard Apgar, *Taming Travel and Disciplining Reason: Enlightenment and Pedagogy in the Work of Joachim Heinrich Campe* (2008). [unpublished dissertation]

> there is a king, or a prince, or a magistrate in a certain country. And through this you will discover the riches and the blessings which God has bestowed in the ground and on the work of man. Sometimes we take a walk, ride on a cart or in a carriage, hear the birds sing, look at the fields, and work in the gardens, etc. Now we go home cheerful, enjoy ourselves, and read our books once again."[119]

The last sentence of that passage is particularly telling: after the sensory tour Raff promises the study of geography will afford, the child will return home to read—cheerfully. The link between literacy and exploration was thus reinforced. In a similar vein, though not as fancifully painted, Carl Grumbach wrote that he wanted to present to "Jünglingen und Jungfrauen" not only conventional descriptions of lands and peoples, "but also true, concise depictions of remarkable discoveries from travels and authentic events arranged honestly and without any grandiose wording, and in this way be allowed to teach them, to a satisfactory degree, some of the peculiar concepts and opinions, conventions and gestures of foreign (but not always wild) peoples!"[120] He stressed the authority of individual experience and observation for generating geographic knowledge in a way that would dispose child readers to imagine themselves as travelers and geographers.

Schulz's adaptation of Mungo Park's narrative itself provides a good example of how these two different pedagogic tactics were reconciled in the model of the armchair geographer. While the German translation framed Park's narrative in a domestic setting, the story itself celebrates the heroic geographer's exploration: Mungo Park's intent in publishing

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[119] "Ein andersmal führet man euch zu einem Kaufmann oder in ein Gewürzgewölbe.— Nun besucht man mit euch Künstler und Handwerker.— Und endlich werdet ihr auch hören, ob in einem Lande ein König, oder ein Fürst, oder ein Magistrat ist.— Und dadurch werdet ihr den Reichthum und den Segen, welchen Gott in den Erdboden und auf die Arbeit der Menschen gelegt hat, erfahren.— Zuweilen gehen wir spatzieren, fahren auf einem Wagen oder in einer Kutsche, hören die Vögel singen, sehen auf den Feldern und in den Gärten arbeiten &c.— Nun gehen wir vergnügt nach Hause, freuen uns, und lesen wieder in unsern Büchern." Raff (1776), 3.

[120] "sondern auch wahrhafte, gedrängte Schilderungen merkwürdiger Entdeckungen auf Reisen und Authentischer Begebenheiten treu und ohne allen Wortprunk aufzustellen, und auf diese Weise sie von den besondern Begriffen und Meinungen, Sitten und Einrichtungen der ausländischen (nicht aber immer wilden) Völkerschaften gnüglich unterrichten zu dürfen!" Carl Grumbach, *Die Reisemappe: enthaltend Auszüge aus Reisebeschreibungen Städteräthsel und Sinngedichte, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für die mittlere Jugend* (Meißen: C. E. Klinkicht und Sohn, 1828), iv.

the narrative of his journey was to provide "an ocular demonstration" that the River Niger flowed east. Kate Ferguson Marsters describes Park as a "sentimental traveler—one who recorded also his personal and subjective response to Africa, his individual experience of the land and its people." This sentimental objective was heightened in Schulz's edition, since he set that promotion of individual experience and the romance of exploration in the wrapping of a family drama for young Germans.

The child reader as explorer was one manifestation of discursive shifts in geographic epistemology around 1800 which redirected attention to the value of individual experience, local perspectives, and empirical observation. The local was conceived as a foundation for the geographic imagination of broader units such as "Germany," "Europe" and the world, and the knowing subject's local experience and understanding of space was at the root of all geographic knowledge. This was a dramatic shift, as Tang observes: "during the half century between Rousseau's *Emile* and Ritter's encounter with Pestalozzi, terrestrial space came to be conquered by subjective experience."[121] Ordinary spatial knowledge of "the real thing" began to take prominence over the rational or mathematical determination of space. This development was extended to children's education, as when Johann Georg Heinrich Feder explained that the best way for very young children to approach so large a field of knowledge as geography was to focus on the basic understanding of a few terms: "sites, villages, and countries, rivers, lakes, and mountains...the position of these parts of our earth's surface."[122] This was cast in opposition to the practice of memorizing lists of place names and statistics. For children themselves, their earliest understanding of words like "mountain," "river," or "country," was surely often in reference to places from their own local experience.

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[121] Tang, 45.

[122]"Daß den Stätten, Dörfern und Ländern, den Flüssen, Seen und Bergen Namen gegeben werden, lernt es bald; und daß die Lage dieser Theile der Oberfläche unserer Erde, durch die Art, wie man ihre Namen neben einander schreibt, vorstellig gemacht werden können, wird ihm auch nicht schwer zu begreifen." Raff (1776), v-vi.

Henning asserted that it was natural for children's geographic education to begin with their local environment:

> The child knows no other world than that which surrounds him. And the adult who knows all the geographical compendiums by heart is just as unfamiliar with the world situated outside his horizons as if his occupation were only limited to absorbing that which has been presented in travel reports and collected in geographic textbooks...every man must begin his knowledge of the earth with the recognition of that part of the earth's surface which lies within the horizon in front of his view. Each observation and understanding that he gains here will be for him the foundation, the positioning point, the means of clarification, in short the sense (the organ) for all similar findings that he receives through reports from eyewitnesses."[123]

The ideal approach to geographic knowledge was instinctual for children, as long as teachers did not let external understanding from books interfere—asserted Henning in a geography *book*, intended for children to read. This kind of paradox was common throughout a period of flux and sometimes dramatically opposed attitudes toward children's learning. The elevation of individual experience—as with the incorporation of the family—reveal the part that sentiment and subjectivity played in the evolution of a geographic education especially for children.

Geographic imagination for child readers

In his treatment of the modern German geographic imagination, Chenxi Tang identifies three crucial characteristics: the asymmetrical division of the globe into Europe and a vast "elsewhere," the classification of Europe by nation-states with well-defined territories, and the conception of the world as a collection of "spatially delimited ethnic

[123] "Das Kind kennt keine andre Welt, als die, welche es umgiebt. Und der Erwachsene, der alle geographischen Compendien auswendig weiß, kennt die ausserhalb seines horizontes befindliche Welt im Grunde eben so wenig, wenn seine Thätigkeit sich allein darauf beschränkt, das in sich aufzunehmen, was in Reisebeschreibungen aufgestellt, und in geographischen Lehrbuchern zusammengetragen worden ist...jeder Mensch sein Wissen um die Erde mit der Erkenntniß desjenigen Theils der Erdoberfläche beginnen muß, der innerhalb seines Horizontes vor seiner Anschauung da liegt. Jede Anschauung und Erkenntniß, die er hier gewinnt, wird ihm das Fundament, der Haltungspunkt, das Verdeutlichungsmittel, kurz der Sinn (das Organ) für alle gleichartigen Erkenntnisse, die er durch Berichte der Augenzeugen empfängt." Henning (1812), 11-12.

cultures."[124] These three features provide a framework for the following section on the worldview that schoolbooks offered child readers (through the practices explored in the first part of this chapter).

Division of the globe

As with gender, the politics of race, class, colonialism, and nationalism provided a context in which the worldview cultivated in geographic schoolbooks was written. What might children learn about faraway places and their own society from reading textbooks? The world of geography and world history books in the years around 1800 was constituted particularly through German nationalism and colonial desire. Pedagogues demonstrated sincere faith in the power of literacy as an instrument to shape model citizens and naturalize global relationships based on power. Geographic schoolbooks delivered a vision of European hegemony for child readers.

European "nations"

Central Europe's protean political borders in the early nineteenth century exposed the choices that schoolbook authors had to make to write a geography text, as Robert Schneider acknowledged in his 1840 reader, *German Fatherland Science, or the Land of the Germans, with its Mountains, Waters, Rocks, Plants, Animals, and People*: "By arranging and categorizing of the material I have tried to pursue a clear picture of the whole, which is otherwise so difficult to survey, at the same time always considering physical and ethnographic relationships; I have sought therefore a natural ordering which is otherwise difficult in the case of politically fragmented Germany."[125] And yet, when it came to the

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[124] Tang, 249.

[125] "Durch An- und Unterordnung des Stoffes habe ich nach einer Übersichtlichkeit des sonst so schwer zu überschauenden Ganzen zu streben gesucht, dabei die physischen und ethnographischen Verhältnisse immer beachtet, so nach einer naturgemäßen Anordnung gestrebt, welche bei dem politisch so zerstückelten Deutschland sonst schwer fällt." J. F. Robert. Schneider, *Deutsche Vaterlandskunde, oder das Land der Deutschen mit seinen Gebirgen, Gewässern, Gesteinen, Pflanzen, Thieren und Menschen: Ein Lehr- Und Lesebuch für Schule und Haus* (Erlangen: Carl Heyder, 1840), iii-iv.

body of the text which children read, Schneider presented the geographic features as fixed and natural, rather than a set of regions named and shaped by human action.

Conflict had obvious effects on how political geography was conveyed to students. In 1820, the subtitle of Cannabich's *Geography Reader* proudly marked the book as up to date "after the newest peace treaties."[126] Then in 1851, the same author noted in the foreword to the seventeenth edition of his *Short School Geography,*

> the print of the current edition was begun while the Dresden Conference on the new establishment of the German Confederation had made its beginning, and we generally expected a speedy final result of the same. Months passed, however, without such appearing, and as the printing of this new edition was meanwhile disseminated in Germany: it was then paused, in hopes that something might soon become known in regard to the German Confederation. Although this hope was not realized and has not yet come to realization, still the further printing of the current edition could not be postponed any longer, because the earlier was completely sold out.[127]

Despite the obvious boastful marketing ploy to justify further editions, this note also demonstrates the perceived requirement of children's geographic education to follow the most current politics.

That the jigsaw puzzle of German kingdoms, duchies, principalities, and other states which made up the former Holy Roman Empire was in so much flux during the years around 1800 does not mean, however, that a larger notion of "Germany" did not exist. Indeed, books like these were precisely one place where such imagining of the German nation took place. Even in 1770, geography textbooks offered a strong sense of *Deutschland* as a physical space, as, for example, in the section with details "Of each European State,

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[126] Cannabich, *Lehrbuch der Geographie nach den neuesten Friedensbestimmungen* (1820).

[127] "Der Druck gegenwärtiger Auflage wurde begonnen, wahrend die Dresdner Konferenzen über die neue Einrichtung des Deutschen Bundes ihren Anfang genommen hatten, und man allgemein ein baldiges Endresultat derselben erwartete. Es vergingen jedoch Monate, ohne daß ein solches erschien; und da unterdes der Druck dieser neuen Auflage bis zu Deutschland vorgeschritten war: so wurde nun damit inne gehalten, in der Hoffnung, daß in einiger Zeit etwas Gewisses in Hinsicht des Deutschen Bundes bekannt werden würde. Wiewohl nun diese Hoffnung nicht erfüllt wurde und bis jetzt nicht in Erfüllung gegangen ist, so konnte doch der weitere Druck gegenwärtiger Auflage nicht länger verschoben werden, weil die frühere gänzlich vergriffen war." Cannabich (1851), vi.

especially and to wit of Germany, where we live" from the *Expanded Geography Handbook for Gentle Children*. As in similar texts, this section asks students to memorize the borders, length, width, and other facts about an area presented as a commonly accepted German whole. In this case, that included Austria, Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, the Upper Rhine Plain, the Lower Rhine, Upper Saxony, Lower Saxony, Westphalia, and Bohemia.[128] In some texts, the geographic borders of this Germany were historically constituted—shaped around the Holy Roman Empire. And Schneider included the Netherlands and Switzerland in his 1840 reader mentioned above, acknowledging that these nations, "do not belong to the German Confederation, but rather to the German nation."[129]

How was this imagined German nation characterized for child readers? Schneider opened *German Fatherland Science* with population statistics, but moved on quickly to the subject of language. He simultaneously defined German nationalism through a shared language (characterized as "pliable, deep, rich, and producing masterpieces in every form") and lavished page space on differences of dialect across the regions.[130] The longest section, on the character of the typical German man, was unsurprisingly nationalist and romantic: "...the German character is identified by depth and sincerity of temperament, by a deep, inward, more introspective than demonstrative life; by hard work, perseverance, thoroughness, constancy, loyalty, morality; by great mental agility in all directions and in all areas of knowledge; by ingenuity, keen intellect, great versatility, great geniality, governed imagination."[131] Interestingly, though, Schneider also writes that this paragon is "more

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[128] *Vermehrtes Geographisches Handbüchlein für die zarte Jugend* (1770), 15-33.
[129] "Die Niederlande und die Schweiz gehören nicht zum deutschen Bunde, wohl aber zum deutschen Lande." Schneider (1840), 2.
[130] "...bildsam, tief, reich und hat Meisterwerke in jeder Art hervorgebracht" Schneider (1840), 58.
[131] "so wird das deutsche Wesen durch Tiefe und Innigkeit des Gemüths, durch ein tiefes, innerliches, mehr beschauliches als anschauliches Leben, durch Fleiß, Ausdauer, Gründlichkeit, Beständigkeit, Treue, Sittlichkeit, durch große geistige Regsamkeit nach allen Richtungen hin und in alle Gebiete des Wissens, durch Scharfsinn, scharfen Verstand, große Allseitigkeit, große Gemüthlichkeit, geregelte Phantasie bezeichnet." Schneider (1840), 59.

human than German."[132] The section closed with a description of famous intellectuals and universities before moving on to the next section on the German economy, agriculture, weights, and measures. Thus the information necessary for a successful middle-class profession was tied to the promotion of a romantic and immodest notion of German-ness.

An emphasis on a new middle-class conception of the home as well as local, individual experience as part of children's geographic education collided with nationalist rhetoric in geography schoolbooks in the the construction of *Heimat*.[133] Cannabich argued that students in German schools needed to receive more detailed information on Germany as the center of their geographic study simply because they were German.[134] When Johann Joachim Schwaben translated the immensely popular French periodical *Magazine for Children* by Madame Leprince de Beaumont (see chapter 2), he made a special point in his notes on the adaptation that he had greatly expanded the sections on geography. He admitted that it was natural that Leprince de Beaumont should emphasize English geography for her English pupils, but insisted that German readers would need more details on German geography, "since all [students] must be made familiar with their fatherland first."[135] Henning quoted Pestalozzi at the beginning of his text, "One who does not know his homeland, which he sees, how will he come to know strange places, which he doesn't see?"[136] Henning's tone throughout the book, including in discussions of national identity, invoked sentimental ideas

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[132] "Er ist mehr Mensch als Deutscher." Schneider (1840), 59.

[133] For the landmark examination of *Heimat*, German colonial nationalism, and the regional expression of nationalist ideologies, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

[134] "Da dieser Auszug für deutsche Schulen bestimmt ist, so hob ich Deutschland vorzüglich heraus, und behandelte dasselbe ausführlicher." Cannabich (1818), iii.

[135] "Dieses war, nach der Einrichtung der Frau Beaumont, vollkommen recht, und sehr zu loben; da sie mit engländischem Frauenzimmer redete: es konnte aber unmöglich bleiben, da ich deutsche Kinder dafür eingeführet hatte. Es mußte diesen, so wie jenen, ihr Vaterland zuerst bekannt gemacht werden; und doch fand ich in dem ganzen Werke von Deutschland noch nichts. Ich sah mich also genöthiget, selbst Hand anzulegen, und entwarf dasjenige, was man in dreh oder vier Gesprächen davon finden wird." Johann Joachim Schwaben, "Vorrede des deutschen Herausgebers," *Leprince de Beaumonts Magazin für Kinder* (1761), xiii.

[136] Henning (1812), 76.

about children and their relationship to the subject of geography, as during his discussion of migration to Germany:

> Were all the people who live here in this place also born in the same? Do you know people who have come to us in this country from abroad and settled among us? Of our fellow citizens or residents here, do not some of them also periodically go abroad? Do not people die among us every year? If more die now than are born, more emigrate than immigrate: what must happen.[137]

The vocative attitude invited children to reflect on their own experience in order to understand geographic knowledge.

Cultures of the world

The geographic imagination of German schoolbook authors around 1800, which framed the world as a collection of ethnic cultures bound by space, shaped not only their depiction of societies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, but even determined which parts of the globe would be included in standard geography textbooks. Books of *Weltgeschichte* "world history," revealed the shape of the ancient world for children as essentially limited to the Mediterranean, possibly touching very lightly on China. And although global division of power and perceived cultural ties between north and south might be more crucial today, the Occident/Orient categories shaped the primary spatial ordering in this period.[138] By figuring places and peoples outside Europe as bodily objects both unknown and desirable, the colonial fantasy promoted in children's geographic education contributed to orienting young people as imaginary explorers. Reading was thus an instrument of furthering racist colonial knowledge production and also an avenue to individual curiosity about the world.

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[137] "Sind alle Menschen, die hier im Ort wohnen auch in demselben geboren worden? Kennt ihr Leute die aus der Fremde zu uns in's Land gekommen sind, und sich bey uns niedergelassen haben? Gehen nicht auch zuweilen von unsern hiesigen Mitbürgern oder Miteinwohnern einige in's Ausland? – Sterben nicht alle Jahr Menschen bey uns? Wenn nun mehr sterben, als geboren werden; mehr aus- als einwandern: was muß geschehen." Henning (1812), 302.

[138] For a historical overview of European and American spatial systems for subdividing the globe, see Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Henning's 1812 geography text offers a common example of what descriptions of that world looked like. African countries were most often defined by natural features (coasts, rivers, etc.), while Asian countries were identified by peoples, and European countries bounded by political entities and noble families. Unsurprisingly, the native peoples of the Americas were treated as "heathens, who mostly engage in war, hunting and fishing," rather than as political groups or nations.[139] Civilization was marked, literally, by cities, with lists of urban centers in Europe provided.

Grumbach's sections on non-European peoples in his *The Voyage Files* illustrate the typically racalist and body-focused portrayals of the genre. He introduced Sierra Leone with descriptions of the men's good limbs and flat noses and the women's pendulous breasts and physical strength.[140] Several of the stories in this book demonstrated the intersection of gender with colonial desire. For example, most of the section "About the Arabs" is devoted to an Englishman's travel narrative which is primarily a vehicle for long descriptions of a harem in a room covered in beautiful rugs:

> [his wife's] female slaves, women of all nationalities as well of all colors, surrounded her. The lady stood up to welcome us, but [I] could not judge her beauty because of a long veil covering her face, and many cumbersome clothes covering her whole figure. From chin to waist, she was literally encased in gems.... An old Persian woman who was among the company soon took off her veil, but the Persians and Arabs retained their cocoons no matter how much I begged them to grant me a glimpse of their faces. They examined my clothes very curiously, and invited me to take a bath, which I

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[139] "Die Länder der freien Indier, in Guiana, Peru, Paraguay, Chili, Brasilien, im Magellanslande, besonders im Innern dieser Länder, ungefähr 1 Million Heiden, die sich meist mit Krieg, Jagd und Fischerei beschäftigen; ihre eingeschränkten Oberhäupter heißen Caziken." Henning, 554.

[140] "Die Mannepersonen sind reinlich, haben gute Gliedmaßen und sind plattnasigt....Die Weiber sind bei weitem nicht so gut gestalten, als die Männer. Das Kinderstillen, und die Gewohnheit, die Brüste beständig herabhangen zu lassen, giebe ihrer eine so ungestaltete Länge und Größe, daß manche, wie die Verfasser glaube, sie gleich den Aegyptiern, die Kinder über die Schullern konnten saugen lassen. Ihre beständige Arbeit macht sie stark, denn diejenigen..." Grumbach (1828), 218.

> refused....They asked me to let them at least paint my eyes, which would, according to their assurance, much improve my appearance."[141]

Arab society, politics, culture, and history are all read through provocative encounter of a white man with exotic women's bodies.

Another example of the intersection between race, gender, and sexuality which framed the presentation of non-Europeans for young readers comes from the series of geography and world history textbooks for girls discussed earlier in this chapter. Friedrich Nösselt devoted a significant number of pages to discussing the "natural" ferocity of Arabs compared to the "softer force" of European truth.[142] Christendom was rendered the gentler, feminine pole of conflicts in the Mediterranean. As Zantop writes about the latent German colonial fantasy, "the 'manliness' with which African nations defended their lands precluded their feminization and the generation of sexually appropriate fantasies."[143] The physical arrangement of Nösselt's text underscored this difference for the young reader, when he

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[141] "Er fuhrte mich, als ich einwilligte, über eine breite Treppe in den Obertheil des Hauses, wo seine Frau in einem kleinen, mit einem sehr schönen persischen Teppiche bedeckten Gemache saß. Ihre Sclavinnen, Weiber aus allen Völkerschaften, von allen Farben zugleich, umgaben sie. Die Herrin stand auf, uns zu empfangen, über ihre Schönheit aber ließ sich nicht urtheilen denn ein langer Schleier verbarg ihr Gesicht, und viele beschwerliche Kleider bedeckten die ganze Gestalt. Vom Kinn bis auf den Gürtel war sie buchstäblich in Edelsteine eingebäuset....Eine alte Perserin, die in der Gesellschaft war, legte bald ihren Schleier ab; die Perserinnen aber und Araberinnen behielten ihre Larven, so sehr ich sie bat, mir den Anblick ihrer Gesichter zu gönnen. Sehr neugierig unteruschten sie meinen Anzug, luden mich auch zu einem Bade ein, was ich aber abschlug....Man bat mich, mir wenigstens die Augen bemalen zu lassen, was, nach ihrer Versicherung, mein Ansehn sehr verbessern würde." Grumbach (1828), 63-65.

[142] "Von Natur hat der Araber hang zum unstäten und zum Räuberleben, und so lange sie unter Muhameds Fahne fochten, fehlte es ihnen an nichts. Endlich war er so stark, daß er seine Feinde in Mecca überfiel, die damals schon den Arabern heilige Stadt eroberte, und Alle, die bisher die Waffen gegen ihn getragen hatten, entweder niederhieb, oder sie zwang, zu ihm überzutreten. Während die christliche Religion durch die sanftere Gewalt der Wahrheit sich Eingang verschafft hatte, wurde die muhamedanische durch die Waffen ausgebreitet." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* vol. 2 (1827), 11.

[143] Zantop, 11.

directly juxtaposed a "neutral" explanation of Islam as a religion to the history of conflicts between Spain and the Arab world.[144]

There was a hierarchy to the orientalism of German geography schoolbooks: some racist stereotypes were more complimentary than others. For example, in Friedrich Franz's *Reader of Lands and Peoples*, the main characteristics assigned to China were fertility and ancient traditions, while a major section of the chapters on Africa was devoted to the "Color of the Population" and Franz wrote that "in the small corner of [the African continent], from which wisdom spread its light in ancient times to distant countries, even the weakest spark of scientific enlightenment has been extinguished."[145] But whether these taxonomies favored some non-western civilizations over others, the key point is that German children were oriented in a world divided by the intellectual progress of European nations and the backwards nature of ethnic cultures in the rest of the globe.

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[144] "Nach diesem Siege eben erhielt er seinen Beinamen von der Alles zermalmenden Tapferkeit, womit er seinen Streitkolben über den Mohrenschädeln geschwungen hatte. —Schon nach einigen Jahrhunderten entstanden Uneinigkeiten auch unter den maurischen Fürsten in Spanien, und die Christen kamen nun geschwungen wieder aus den Bergen hervor, und gewannen immer mehr Land, bis endlich im 16ten Jahrhundert die letzten Mauren wieder nach Afrika zurückgetrieben worden sind." Nösselt, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* vol. 2 (1827), 13.

[145] "Wissenschaften und Künste sind ganz aus diesem Erdtheile verbannt, und in dem kleinen Winkel desselben, aus welchem in den ältesten Zeiten die Weisheit ihr Licht in entfernte Länder verbreitete, ist auch der schwächste Funke wissenschaftlicher Aufklärung erloschen." Friedrich Christian Franz, *Lehrbuch der Länder- und Völkerkunde* Volume 2 (Stuttgart: Erhard und Löslund, 1790), 142.

Conclusion

In 1776, Georg Christian Raff addressed his child readers directly in the introduction to his geography text, advertising all they would learn if they read the book. He ended by asking, "Or do you prefer to remain ignorant, like those children who in their eighth year still believed that behind the mountains and forests the world has an end?"[146] About fifty years later, Heinrich Rockstroh provided the simplest statement of the importance of new geographic thinking when he wrote in his book of world history that the essential thing for human knowledge is "that one knows, where or in which place on the earth, and when or at which time one has thought about the subject in question."[147]At the end of the Enlightenment, schoolbook authors and other adults in charge of children's instruction believed that geographic education was essential and could be transformative. Even though they also worried about the possible dangers of individual children's unguided encounters with books, they understood reading to be a key path to knowledge about the world.

This chapter treated geographic education as a window into the socialization of children through reading. I argued that changes in geography and world history schoolbooks show the emergence of the active child reader, through both literacy practices and content. Evidence on practice comes from authors' ideas about their child readers (including the new imperative to amuse and an increasingly gender specialized education) as well as aspects of the texts themselves (including visual media and readers' alterations of books). The content of new geographic schoolbooks in this period located child readers in the world (through an emphasis on the home and elevation of reading as exploration) and conveyed a specific vision of the world that had emerged from the European Enlightenment.

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[146] "Oder wolt ihr lieber unwissend bleiben, wie jene Kinder, die in ihrem achten Jahr noch glaubten, hinter den Bergen und Wäldern habe die Welt ein Ende?" Raff (1776), 4.
[147] "dass man wisse, wo oder an welchem Orte auf der Erde, und wann oder zu welcher Zeit man sich den in Rede stehenden Gegenstand zu denken habe." Rockstroh (1828), I:vii.

Geography is literally about ways of knowing the world. And the developments in how that epistemology was conveyed to children through the turn of the eighteenth century set the stage for changes like modern mass schooling and the age of adventure stories at the end of the nineteenth century—and produced young readers like Karl May. Miroslav Hroch has noted one way in which worldviews cultivated in children matter deeply to society: "psycho-geography is once more playing an important role in Europe, as children in elementary schools constantly contemplate official maps of their country."[148] Feeding nationalist ideas, stimulating colonial desire, and raising respectable middle-class citizens who could carry their armchair geography into business, cultural pursuits, and the education of the next generation—these were all equally important purposes of the new geographic education.

Perhaps the most fundamental, fascinating, and enigmatic question here is what meaning these texts really held in the readers' and writers' learning about the world. Did they shape their global perspectives? What part did reading really play in their understanding? Half a century after the end of this period, the progressive American educator Lucy Sprague Mitchell explored the profound relationship between education and children's sense of their own location in the world in her book, *The Young Geographers*. She told of asking a group of 12-year-olds to place many imaginary nations on the physical map of Europe in such a way "that they could live alongside of one another with least friction."[149] After they were finished arranging countries according to coal deposits and river currents and railroads, the students were given a contemporary political map of the continent. This *greatly* dismayed them,

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[148] Though Hroch was thinking of conflicts in the 1990s, the image resonates with early nineteenth-century classrooms. Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 71.

[149] Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Young Geographers: How They Explore the World & How They Map the World* (New York: Basic Books, 1934), 33.

prompting such questions as "How can Russia get out to the sea? She'll certainly try to," and "Don't France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany need to guard their boundaries every minute? There's no sense to their boundaries!"[150] Mitchell's students, who were foiled in their search for "rational" (that is, environmental) explanations for national borders, carried these political and economic problems of geography into their subsequent study of European history.[151] Describing a sense of adventure she saw in young geographers, Mitchell concluded that children "can and do think in geographic terms" as they make discoveries of social relations.[152] Despite their distance from my readers, these stories of her students' curiosity reveal the wider potential for young learners' own agency to follow instructions, pay attention, get bored, fantasize, strive to understand, question, ignore, map—in short, for German children reading around 1800 to make their own meanings about the world.

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[150] Ibid., 34.
[151] Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Young Geographers: How They Explore the World & How They Map the World* (New York: Basic Books, 1934), 34.
[152] Ibid., 7, 35.

CHAPTER 5
Writing Home: Letters as a Social Practice

On a snowy day in October 1850, Peter Paulsen wrote to his young son at home in Schleswig. He thanked the boy, also named Peter, for writing while they were apart: "Your letter gave me great pleasure. Each word shows how you love me: proof of this love that you are diligent, orderly, and obedient to your good mother, through which you give me the greatest joy."[1] This direct articulation of the purpose of letter-writing was a typical feature of German children's correspondence throughout the early nineteenth century. But the father's brief message is noteworthy for the succinctness with which it synthesizes developing pedagogic ideals about sentiment, self-discipline, and writing. The exchange demonstrates how the Enlightenment idealization of self-control in children was translated to the sentimental frame of the mid-nineteenth century: this paradigm was satisfied not only by writing loving letters to one's father, but by being disciplined and obedient to one's mother. This particular note was attached to a longer letter for Peter Paulsen's wife, along with individual letters addressed to his other children. The fact that he deliberately wrote a letter for each child to claim as his or her own underscores how seriously German parents took children's education.

How did this kind of letter writing, evident mostly in elite family archives of the mid-eighteenth century, become a common practice for a middle-class educator's family by 1850?[2] The letters children wrote themselves offer some answers about how this practice spread over the century. In this chapter, I argue that the social literacy practice of children's letter writing facilitated the emergence of the active child reader and writer.

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[1] "Dein Brief hat mir herzliche Freude gemacht. Jedes Wort zeugt, wie lieb du mich hast, beweise diese Liebe dadurch, daß du fleißig, ordentlich, u folgsam gegen die gute Mutter bist, dadurch machst du mir die größte Freude." Peter Paulsen to his wife and children, 14 October 1850. Nachlass Peter Paulsen, Abt. 399.1113 Nr. 5, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

[2] Paulsen eventually became the director of the school for the deaf in Schleswig.

While the dissertation has thus far focused primarily on texts children consumed, in this chapter and the next I turn my attention to texts that children themselves produced. A number of possible relationships between writing and reading emerge from my examination of texts created and used by children. First, for many children, their reading informed their writing skills. This could range from direct copying, especially in the common practice of transcribing school essays; to imaginative writing that emulated literature; to the practical context of literacy development. Reading certainly strengthened writers, and writing could make more critical readers. Second, representations of child writers proliferated in the texts children read. Depictions of children preparing their own plays to perform could inspire the same in readers; diary-keeping paragons and diligent letter writers demonstrated ideal practices in stories; and archetypes of virtue and wickedness often showed their quality through writing diligence (or the lack of it). The common use of epistolary and diary forms in texts written for children modeled and explicitly instructed children how to organize their own thoughts and express them in genre-appropriate ways. Third, children used their own diaries, letters, and other writing to record and comment on their reading. Writing provided the means to critique or even parody texts which children read. Beyond children's books alone, this interconnection between writing and reading formed children's literacy world.

What can we discover about writing practices using texts created by children themselves? Chapters 5 and 6 together address questions related to writing as pedagogy; writing as social literacy tool; and writing as self-formation. Documents produced by children also provide more direct evidence of children's actual practices, in complement to what adult authors imagined about their child readers. Writing was certainly used by teachers and parents as a discipline which promoted self-control, time-keeping, and obedience to conventions and adult authorities. But that discipline was still a mechanism children

themselves could deploy, for humor, for resistance, in imitation, to develop a voice, for self-fashioning and self-expression, or to negotiate family relationships. Children were agents of their own education even while they were governed by those practices, and the rich evidence of children's writing surveyed in this study offers a window into the agency of literacy, often difficult to view by other means.

Despite increasing attention to children's voices across historical sources, few studies have been devoted to thorough investigations of children's letter writing as a practice.[3] Why have texts produced by children often been treated by historians as passing illustrations, secondary to more authoritative records? Three explanations seem likely: 1) The challenge of locating sources has discouraged rigorous analysis of children's letters. 2) Children's writing of any era can appear simple and formulaic, and adult letters have largely been read as social tools while disregarding children's letters as experiments derivative of adult correspondence.[4] 3) Children's letters have been mistakenly assumed to hold merely antiquarian interest, rather than offering evidence relevant to complex social history questions. Yet we miss something important about the part literacy played in transformations of middle-class childhood in Europe if we overlook children's letter writing or use it only superficially.

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[3] Exceptions include some essays in David Barton and Nigel Hall, eds., *Letter Writing as a Social Practice* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000); Willemijn Ruberg, "Children's Correspondence as a Pedagogical Tool in the Netherlands (1770-1850)," *Pedagogica Historica* 41, no. 3 (2005): 295-312; and Kaisa Vehkalahti, "The Urge to See Inside and Cure: Letter-writing as an Educational Tool in Finnish Reform School Education, 1915-1928," *Paedagogica Historica* 44 (2008): 193-205. For an overview of perspectives from practitioners, see Criss Jones Díaz, "Literacy as Social Practice" in *Literacies in Childhood: Changing Views, Challenging Practice*, ed. Laurie Makin, Criss Jones Díaz, and Claire McLachlan, 31-42 (Sydney: MacLennan Petty, 2007).

[4] For valuable studies which examine letters as a genre across historical cases, but do not consider the particular characteristics of children's correspondence, see Alexandru Duțu, Edgar Hösch, and Norbert Oellers, eds., *Brief und Briefwechsel in Mittel- und Osteuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Essen, Germany: Reimar Hobbing, 1989); Roger Chartier, ed., *La Correspondance: Les Usages de la Lettre au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1991); Rainer Baasner, ed., *Briefkultur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999); Rebecca Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 1999); Liz Stanley, "The Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences," *Auto/Biography* 12 (2004): 201-35.

My analysis makes the case for children's correspondence as a valuable historical source, countering each of these objections: 1) Not only was letter writing a ubiquitous practice in middle-class German children's lives, but this study has unearthed a broad range of these letters in family archives. 2) Letters document pedagogic exercises in which children and adults engaged, constituting a set of communicative practices worthy of investigation distinct from the adult genre. 3) Much more than ephemeral objects, letters served as a key instrument for the social development of children.[5]

Letters record the participation of bourgeois children in household affairs, kinship networks, and cultural spheres connected through school friends and parents' acquaintances from very young ages. Approaching children's writing as a social literacy practice has a double meaning: on the one hand, recognising letter writing as a path toward social literacy (that is, the development of children's ability to "read" their social world and follow class- and gender-based scripts), and on the other hand, underscoring the social context of letter writing as one of several reading and writing practices in which children engaged. These letters show children practicing adult conventions and asserting their important place in the family by reporting on household news, money management, and other practical concerns; demonstrating their bourgeois accomplishments and sentimental education; cultivating associations that would be important in adulthood; and engaging in relational autonomy through a number of different vertical and horizontal relationships. Children's letters

[5] In this attention to the dual nature of letters as sources, I am following recent scholarship which turns to letters not only for historical evidence, but letters *as* evidence. For a summary of some recent developments in the use of letters in the social sciences, see Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 82-90.

document a lifelong process in the making of class cultures and forging of social ties.[6] If the eighteenth century was indeed, as Habermas names it, "the century of the letter," and if German philosophers were on to something when they claimed their historical moment as "the pedagogical century," perhaps it is no accident that the genre of letter writing became so central to the education of middle and upper-class German children in the years around 1800.[7] German sources provide a particularly illuminating case of children's education and the family as a preoccupation of middle-class society, but this was by no means an exceptional national story.[8]

This chapter draws on hundreds of letters that formed children's correspondence with their parents, other relatives, teachers and friends, written mostly between the 1780s and 1850s. The letters come from eight archives and some published sources, representing several regions of what is now Germany, especially Berlin & Brandenburg, Schleswig, Lower

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[6] My analysis here is informed by scholarship on bourgeois domesticity which has identified the family and education as a key sites for the production of class cultures, as addressed in Chapter 1. See, for example, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Working Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Gunilla Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien, 1840-1914* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck Ruprecht, 1994); Mary Jo Maynes, "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life" in *The History of the European Family: Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli, 195-229 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2008).

[7] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger & Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991 [orig. 1962]), 48. On the eighteenth century as the "pedagogical century," see among others, Marion Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and the Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 135-39.

[8] On the salience of the German case, see Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien, 1840-1914* (1994); David Hamlin, *Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007). On developments across Enlightenment Europe, see Pavla Miller, "State Formation, Personality Structure, and the Civilizing Process," in *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500-1900* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), especially 130-34; Jennifer Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008); Arianne Baggerman, and Rudolf Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Noah W. Sobe, "Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 1-2 (2010): 149-60.

Saxony, Lippe, Württemberg and Bavaria.[9] The archives were selected both for geographic range and for collections likely to hold extensive family and personal papers. I have collected as many children's letters as I could find, with a central focus on letters written by bourgeois children before late adolescence. Additionally, the archival documents are complemented with children's letters published by F. E. Mencken as *Dein dich zärtlich liebender Sohn: Kinderbriefe aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (1965). In many cases, only one or two letters from a particular child writer are extant, and both sides of correspondence were only available for a few families. As other research on letter writing has shown, it is rarely possible to reconstruct a complete corpus of any individual's correspondence.[10] For the purposes of this chapter, I have selected letters to cite which reveal exemplary traits characteristic of the genre.

The set includes letters written by approximately 125 children from 50 middle- and upper-class families, two-thirds boys and one-third girls.[11] I have examined letters written by children as young as five years old through to late adolescence, although my focus is on the years between ages six and 14. I drew widely from letter collections in the papers of middle- and upper-class families, as well as in the papers of those whose social location lay somewhere on that boundary. While the pedagogic uses of letter writing accompanied a new ideology of childhood that was a product of the urban middle classes, these educational features were also characteristic of some aristocratic family practices.

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[9] Landesarchiv Berlin, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Germanisches National Museum Historisches Archiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover, Lippische Landesbibliothek, Landesarchiv Schleswig, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, and the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg.

[10] For one theorisation of a correspondence corpus, including letters both archived and no longer extant, see Liz Stanley, "Letters, The Epistolary Gift, The Editorial Thirty-Party, Counter-Epistolaria: Rethinking the Epistolarium," *Life Writing* 8 (2011): 135-52. Collections of correspondence have also been considered through a methodology based on corpus linguistics, as by Emma Moreton, "Profiling the Female Emigrant: A Method of Linguistic Inquiry for Examining Correspondence Collections," *Gender & History* 24, no. 3 (2012): 617-46.

[11] As a reminder, here and in Chapter 6, I have chosen to refer to young writers by their given names to avoid confusion when I am discussing several children from the same family.

Most of these letters were written in German, with some in French and a few in Italian or English. Most were short (one to two pages) and carefully composed, though some examples were more draft-like and mistake-ridden. Although many were sent through the post, that was not necessarily the case for letters written for a special occasion to someone who lived in the same household.[12] Below, I explore the typical subjects of children's letters in more detail.

Why have any children's letters been preserved? The growing significance of children's correspondence in the social life of the family is reflected in the very archiving practices that led to the conservation of letters like these. One file from the von Neurath family archive, for example, spans 57 years, the collection beginning with letters Charlotte (née von Erath) wrote to her parents as a child herself and concluding with letters from her own grandchildren.[13] These letters were gathered together under Charlotte's name as a record of her most important connections. Still, the letters which were saved and eventually deposited in archival collections represent only a small portion of all the letter writing which children undertook as part of their social literacy education. Special occasions such as birthdays and holidays often prompted the composition of special letters which were then preserved as a record of the event. Furthermore, the letters examined for this study were more likely to be polished creations than imperfect drafts. Families who included children's correspondence among their records usually exhibited an awareness of posterity and conviction in the importance of their own legacy, including documenting the education of children.

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[12] On the postal system, see Elemér Hantos, *Mitteleuropäischer postverein* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1929); Gerhard Brandtner, *Die Post in Ostpreussen: ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 2000); Daniel Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Siegfried Grillmeyer, *Habsburgs Diener in Post und Politik: das "Haus" Turn und Taxis zwischen 1745 und 1867* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2005).
[13] Briefe von Charlotte Marie Agnes von Neurath geb. von Erath, Familienarchiv Freiherren von Neurath, Q 3/11 Bü 41, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

The chapter begins by considering the genre of children's letter writing, exploring the conventions and typical subjects which contributed to the social purpose of correspondence. I then turn to letter writing as a pedagogic exercise, including the preoccupation with the medium which filled children's letters, letters as a gift and demonstration of *Bildung*, and evidence of instruction in letter writing. Finally, I demonstrate how letter writing was used by children and adults as a social instrument, focusing on questions of audience and the relationships constructed and articulated by correspondence.

The Genre of Children's Letter Writing

This section characterizes the nature of children's letter writing in middle and upper-class German families at the end of the Enlightenment. Just as correspondence in general is a genre with particular conventions and expectations, children's letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries formed their own particular sub-genre. Guidelines for salutations and valedictions, modes of address, bounded self expression, and common inquiries governed correspondence. Learning those conventions was an essential part of engaging in the social literacy practice of letter writing. The genre was also marked by the materiality of letters, strikingly different from the physical characteristics of correspondence between adults, and by the subjects of children's writing.

Letters have been studied historically for evidence of events and relationships, studied rhetorically as tools of communication, and linked to debates about friendship, love, conversation, subjectivity, and class development, among other themes. Historians of letter writing in modern Europe have often focused on the dimension of gender in both the production of and discourse around correspondence.[14] Ruth-Ellen Joeres explains the feedback between perceptions of letter writing in general and perceptions of women as letter writers:

> when it was increasingly asserted later in the century that women possessed certain characteristics specific to their gender, the letter itself began to be seen as reflecting those characteristics, as natural (as opposed to cultured, a role assign to men), as liberated from external rules, as sentimental, naive, unsophisticated, and so on.[15]

Joeres suggests that it is only "perhaps" an exaggeration to tell the history of German women writers in the eighteenth century through theories of the letter. While acknowledging

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[14] A notable recent example from the French context is Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

[15] Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, "The German Enlightenment (1720-1790)," in *The Cambridge History of German Literature*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 161.

that much of the discourse about women's education invoked the child as a symbol of immaturity, I extend this insight about the relationship between social categories and the development of the genre to age. See, for example, Joeres's observation about women's subjectivity in letter writing as "highly constructed, even circular in its argumentation: letters reflect women because women, as constructed, are 'natural'. But both letters and women also need to be 'trained', that is, shaped and properly formed."[16] This contradiction resonates strongly with the pedagogic double ideal faced by child letter writers.

Some of the letters which I gathered in this study were written by young people who were already taking their place in adult worlds. They may have been writing home from school, as did 15-year-old Eugen von Seeger in long letters at the beginning of the nineteenth century, or preparing to exercise aristocratic power, as in the eighteenth-century correspondence between tutors and the young princes of the Schleswig ducal house. These writers echo the experiences and style of the sixteenth-century youths examined in Steven Ozment's study, *Three Behaim Boys: Growing Up in Early Modern Germany* (1990). But for the most part these letters, examples of what Konstantin Dierks calls "the familiar letter," were composed by children whose age and education marked them as distinctly different from their adult readers.[17] One example of a particularly new writer was Emil Herder, who wrote the following to his father at age five.[18]

> dear father! Come home soon, and be fond of me, and tell me about the chamois [antelope] and there [then] I want to climb on you again. and I ulso

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[16] Joeres, "The German Enlightenment," 162.
[17] Konstantin Dierks, "The Familiar Letter and Social Refinement in America, 1750-1800," in *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. David Barton and Nigel Hall (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000), 31.
[18] Note on translations: although German orthography was not entirely standardized at this point, I have tried to reflect what were clearly mistakes or idiosyncratic spellings in my translations.

> want to [say I] love you, and if you com, bring some of the nice appricotts with you. Your faithful brother Emil.[19]

In addition to the confusion of the letter's closing and mechanical errors, the run-on logic of this brief note was fairly common to young children's letters.

As young as he was, Emil's letter still exhibited some of the key correspondence conventions of this period: the opening salutation and closing phrase, as well as typical expressions of admiration and affection. In contrast to the distinction some current educators make between teaching formulas such as address forms and stock phrases versus "the business of actually saying something," Emil's use of these conventions said much about the successful discipline of his education.[20] Children's deployment and refashioning of adult style in the letter genre conveyed a great deal of meaning. Another key convention for children's letters was the transmission greetings from household members in one place to all the potential readers of the letter: when seven-year-old Heinrich Lehmann reached the end of his short, five-sentence note to his mother in 1859, he realized he had left something out and closed: "I have forgotten to offer greetings to you. Papa loves you."[21] Salutations and valedictions, which articulated the relationship between letter writer and recipient, were among the most important of these genre conventions. The emphasis in these oft-repeated phrases moved from respectful obedience at the beginning of the period to more

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[19] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a transitional period in German children's use of formal or informal pronouns to address their parents (the "T-V distinction"). Some continued to "siezen" their parents with the formal second person, as in this example. In other cases, children had already begun to use more intimate grammatical structures with their adult relatives. Both forms of address are evident across the letters cited in this study. "lieber Vater! Kommen Sie bald, u haben Sie mich lieb, und erzehlen mir von den Gemslis [GEMSEN] u. da will ich wieder an ihnen hinaufe klettern. u. ich will sie auh lieb haben, u wenn sie kommn, bringen Sie Von die schönen Abrilicosen [APRIKOSEN] mit. Dein getreuer Bruder Emil." Emil Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, September 1788, in *Dein dich zärtlich liebender Sohn: Kinderbriefe aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, ed. F. E. Mencken (Munich: Heimeran, 1965), 76.

[20] Nigel Hall, Anne Robinson, and Leslie Crawford, "Young Children's Explorations of Letter Writing," in *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, 144.

[21] "grüße dich habe ich vergessen. Papa hat dich lieb." Heinrich Lehmann to Caroline Amalie Jessen Lehmann, 12 August 1859. Nachlass Theodor Lehmann, Abt. 399.1094 Nr. 1-2, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

sentimental language in the mid-nineteenth century, as seen in the growing popularity of the signature, "your you-loving..." (*dein dich liebende*). The connection between pedagogy and sentiment in letter writing was marked explicitly in these moments, as when nine-year-old Princess Caroline ended an 1806 letter to her father, "If you find this letter good, it will greatly please—Your Caroline."[22]

Beyond these rhetorical conventions, the genre of children's letter writing was also defined by what the letters looked like and what young people wrote about. Children's letters as artifacts provide evidence that writing was an active literacy practice for young people, one which required them to make choices, exhibit judgment and taste, and connect to their readers. How a letter looked mattered to the adults supervising and receiving them, and to many of the writers: people often thanked each other for beautifully written letters (acknowledging the letter as a material object as well as a vehicle for elegant expressions), or apologized for flaws. Unsurprisingly, many young letter writers pencilled in faint lines to guide their *belles lettres*. There is a significant range in the quality and expertise of the handwriting across this set. Some were quite obviously created by novice writers, with large, shaky letters. But others demonstrated their authors' elite educations with lovely hands and the right letters for the right purpose (some child writers would switch to the appropriate writing styles for French or Latin words, and even changed the spelling of their own names between languages). Children made more spelling mistakes than is at first apparent from the letters which tended to be saved. Of course, this is sometimes difficult to assess, since some apparent errors have more to do with orthographic shifts. But some examples were obvious,

[22] "Wenn du diesen Brief gut findest, so wird es sehr freuen Deine Caroline." Caroline Amalie to Herzog Friedrich Christian II, 1 January 1806, Herzöge von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, Abt. 22 Nr. 135, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

as in this closing to a brief letter by a seven-year-old boy: "meny greetings to al and remein as healthy az we have lifft yu. I am your lovin son."[23] (That boy was Otto von Bismarck.)

Most of the letters I have examined were mailed, with some envelopes preserved. Using the postal system for family letters was another way for children to assert their independence and savvy, as when 10-year-old August Graf von Platen wrote from the Cadet school in Munich to his mother with a postscript: "P.S. On Sunday I carried this letter to the post myself."[24] Because cheap postage was not introduced until the middle of the nineteenth century, we can see the social value placed on these seemingly formulaic little letters.[25] Others were clearly hand-delivered (the letter from Caroline above was inside an envelope simply marked "To Papa"). Parents and children did not need to be separated by physical distance in order to cultivate the art of correspondence, indicating that the use of letters for a pedagogic and social purpose went beyond the use of letters as a simple means to communicate information.

Typical subjects for children's letters of this period included travel (as a common impetus for the letter writing), the weather, expressions of religious faith, and health. The three most common topics of children's letters each demonstrate how letter writing went beyond simple pedagogic exercises to connect young people to the some of the same social networks and concerns which preoccupied adult correspondence: 1) holidays, 2) money and other practical issues, and 3) reports on family or other members of the household. Birthdays of a parent or grandparent and the turn of a new year were some of the most common catalysts for a child to write. As eight-year-old Carl Heinrich Pathe wrote on New Year's Day 1832, "Much beloved parents! Today belongs to the most important days of the

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[23] "grüße ale filmals und blaibe so gesund wi wir dic ferlasen haben ich bin dein dich libender Sohn." Otto von Bismarck to Wilhelmine Luise Mencken, 27 April 1822, in Mencken, 180.
[24] "N.S. Auf den Sontag trage ich diesen Brief selbst auf die Post." August Graf von Platen to Friederike Luise Eichler von Platen (née von Auritz), 19 December 1806, in Mencken, 124.
[25] On the costs associated with the postal system, see Headrick, 192.

year. Who would want to avoid it, not to get an overview of the past year?"[26] What was the best way to mark important family celebrations and relationships? According to many of the children who composed such notes, by writing a letter. Interestingly, most of these birthday letters were usually for adults, rather than from parents to children. One funny exception was Wilhelm Herder's letter about his own birthday, in which he reported to his father about both his increased cleverness and all the presents he had received (notably including paper, ink, and quills from several of his siblings).[27]

Older children and those away at school often expressed their need for money, clothes, books, or other items. Carl Seeger, for instance, wrote at age 10 to his father to ask for money so that he could tip the musicians at a wedding he was shortly to attend.[28] Other children wrote of money and goods in thank you notes, as when six-year-old Gabriele von Humboldt expressed her gratitude to her father for a necklace which made her feel "like a lady."[29] And some bore still more grown-up responsibility: 11-year-old Dorothea von Schlözer reported to her traveling father that a tutor wanted to change money with him, and

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[26] "Vielgeliebte Eltern! Der heutige Tag gehöret zu den wichtigsten Tagen im Jahre. Wer wollte es vermeiden, nicht einen Blick auf das verflossene Jahr zu werden..." Carl Heinrich Pathe to Johann Peter Pathe & Caroline Dorothea Sophie Pathe (née Bastian), 1 January 1832, Nachlass Carl Heinrich Pathe, E Rep. 200-09, Landesarchiv Berlin.

[27] "Jetzt habe ich wieder ein Jahr meiner Jahre vollendet, und bin schon ein Schriett näher zur Ewigkeit. Ich bin eilf Jahr geworden, und ich muß daher von Jahr zu Jahr und Tag zu Tag klüger und weiser werden, wie mir der August gewünschet hat. Die mutter hat mir ein Gesangbuch, Geldbeutel, Mandeldorte, und eine große Bretzel gegeben und hat mir einen Gulthen gegeben in Ihrem Nahmen, und mit der Überschrieft! Von dem lieben Vater aus Neapel. Gottfried hat mir was gar schönes geschrieben und hat mir Büschings Einleitung, Papier, Tusche und Feder gegeben. August hat mir auch was schönes geschrieben und hat mir eine Rose ein par Hosenschnallen und Federn gegeben. Adelbert hat mir auch was schönes geschrieben welches mir sehr wohl gefalen hat und hat mir ein Messer und Papier gegeben. Luise hat mir auch was geschrieben und hat mir eine Bleyfeder und Papier geschenk. Die Jumpfer Schwarzin hat mir eine große Bretzel gegeben." Wilhelm Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 13 February 1789, in Mencken, 71.

[28] Carl Christian von Seeger to Christoph Dionysius von Seeger, 30 October 1783, Familienarchiv von Seeger, Q 3/28 Bü 7, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

[29] "Ich danke Euch für die Ketten, mit denen ich mich wie eine Dame putzen werde." Gabriele von Humboldt to Wilhelm von Humboldt, 19 November 1808, in Mencken, 156.

that another household member asked for silk hose from Innsbruck. She also asked that he send wages to all the servants.[30]

Finally, children's letters were full of news and queries about other relatives and members of the household, one of the more explicitly social subjects for children's writing. Ten-year-old Gustav Weise wrote to his father that his toddler brother had gotten four new teeth; seven-year-old Luise Herder told her father about a new word game her mother had invented (one that she could play with her younger brother).[31] Six-year-old Conrad Meyer was sillier about his sister in an 1831 letter, reporting that she smiled like an angel and lapped milk like a kitten.[32] But these reports on the family were hardly all concerned with silliness and games. In fact, young children often had to write on the occasion of a parent or sibling's death.

At age 14 Gustav Weise sent a letter to his father about the death of his baby brother Alfred, writing, "as you will have learned...our good little Alfred died last Friday."[33] After writing several lines about the baby, his sudden illness, and the burial arrangements, the second half of Gustav's letter was preoccupied with excuses and apologies for not having written better and longer letters in recent weeks, in response to his father's apparent reprimand:

> But you must understand that I only came to begin [letter writing] in the evenings after 10:00, since we have had so much to do during the day. Also I still did not have a proper pen for writing and I was very tired...But I want to

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[30] Dorothea von Schlözer to August Ludwig von Schlözer, 29 January 1782, in Mencken, 53.
[31] "Unser Bruno hat seit dem du abgereist bist wieder 4 neun Zähnchen bekommen und ist noch immer das liebe Brunochen." Gustav Weise to Hermann Weise, 1849, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200-12 Nr. 96, Landesarchiv Berlin; "die Mutter hat uns ein Spiel gelernt bekomd[sic] ein jeder ein Blädchen darauf wirt[sic] ein Word geschriben[sic] Rose oder Schaf oder ein andres u. da muß man eine Beschreivun[sic] davon magen[sic]. Das Spiel gefällt mir recht u. Emil spieltes auch mit." Luise Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 24 October 1788, in Mencken, 76.
[32] "Das liebe schwesterlein [Elisabeth] lacht wie ein Engelein. Milch läpelt es wie ein Büsi [Kätzchen]." Conrad Meyer to Ferdinand Meyer, 2 August 1831, in Mencken, 193.
[33] "wie du erfahren haben wirst...unser guter, kleiner Alfred am vorigen Freitag erstorben ist." Gustav Weise to Hermann Weise, 30 May 1854, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200-12 Nr. 169, Landesarchiv Berlin.

> arrange it so that I will write longer and better letters in the future and that you will no longer be able to complain about it.[34]

After all this, Gustav closed the letter by observing that his father would have much to tell on his return. Those conversations will, of course, always remain unknown to us. Was Gustav simply invoking the usual convention, that his father had been away and would have stories to report from his travels? When he did return home, did Hermann continue to reprimand his son for supposed failings as a correspondent? Did they console one another in the face of a tragedy already known to this family? Letters like this, their creation and preservation, are extraordinary. But they are also frustrating, offering us fragmented glimpses into family life without alternative sources necessarily available to account for silence. The question of what we can and cannot know from the historical record echoes a more profound question of what letters themselves could and could not accomplish. Despite these silences, children's correspondence still provides a rich record of family life and social networks.

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[34] "Aber du mußt annehmen, daß ich erst des Abends nach 10 Uhr damit anfangen kommet, da wir an den Tage so viel auf hatten. Dazu kann noch daß gar keinen ordentlichen Stift zum Schreiben hatte und sehr müd[sic] war....Aber ich will machen daß ich künftig längen und bessern Briefe schriebe und du dich nicht mehr darüber beklagen kannst." Ibid.

Letter Writing as Pedagogic Exercise

Novice writers learned to write letters by emulating adult models and corresponding with parents and teachers. Despite this pedagogic context, however, children's correspondence is not merely derivative of the adult genre. The pedagogic function of children's letter writing entailed a distinct set of practices. As a teaching form, letters were used by children to practice a number of different skills and demonstrate their knowledge of topics from political geography to religious doctrine. But by far the most common pedagogic purpose of letter writing was the development of young people's social literacy, their capacity to "read" their social world and navigate family and business relationships.[35] This section addresses the education of young people in correspondence, including evidence of direct instruction from the letters themselves and widely circulated manuals, the genre's many self-references as a medium, and letters as a demonstration of educational accomplishment.

How did children learn to write letters? In addition to home or school-based instruction in correspondence, letter manuals circulated widely in this era, with some of the most popular titles emerging from German publishers.[36] Cécile Dauphin writes of France in this era that epistolary manuals "were to be found 'under the washing' that the maid had to iron, 'the boxes of the secondhand booksellers along the Seine were full of them'; and the

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[35] Similarly, Dena Goodman writes that instruction in letter writing was necessary for French girls because "it was part of the equipment of a modern woman and a primary means of social mobility." Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 2.

[36] Examples include G. C. Claudius, *Allgemeiner Briefsteller, nebst einer kurzen Anweisung zu verschiedenen schriftlichen Aufsätzen für das gemeine bürgerliche Geschäftsleben* (Leipzig: Heinrich Gräff, 1804); *Briefe für Kinder, nebst einer kurzen Anleitung zum Briefschreiben* (Passau: Pustet, 1821); Haspel, *Kinderbriefe zum Gebrauch für Schule und Haus* (1830); August Edmund Engelbrecht, *Neunzig drei Briefe für Kinder, nebst Aufsätzen für's bürgerliche Leben* (Augsburg: K. Kollmann, 1844); Margarete Wulff, *Funfzig Kinderbriefe für kleine Kinder* (Berlin: Winckelmann, 1845). On letter manuals in general, see Cécile Dauphin, "Letter-Writing Manuals in the Nineteenth Century" in *Correspondence*, ed. Chartier, trans. Christopher Woodall, 112-157 (1997); Nickisch (1999); Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell, *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007); Willemijn Ruberg, *Conventional Correspondence: Epistolary Culture of the Dutch Elite, 1770-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), especially 18-22 and 125-27.

pedlar's pack would also be well stocked with them."[37] These took the form of advice books, as well as collections of models which children and other students of letter-writing might copy. Such texts offered prepared salutations and valedictions, lines of verse for holiday celebrations, address forms, and guidelines for appropriate subjects. Many manuals, especially those targeted at children, stretched beyond mere rhetorical guidance in the art of letter-writing to offer general conduct advice relevant to education in social literacy: how to relate to various individuals, how to communicate with an ideal style, how to articulate desires and emotions in a socially appropriate manner, and how to use letters in business.[38] For example, a quarter of the opening rules in the 1830 manual *Children's Letters for Use at School and at Home* are devoted to instructing children how they should relate to correspondents of varying social rank: children should "be polite and courteous in letters to everyone, but especially to such people who are more so than you."[39] By attempting to cover all the situations in which a child might need to write a letter, authors of letter manuals defined and extended the purposes of children's correspondence, while simultaneously giving practical advice about composition.

Another source of letter-writing instruction came from the popularity of the epistolary form in fiction written for children, where the use of letters allowed for a certain kind of self-construction that aptly served the goals of Enlightenment pedagogues, but also served the practical purpose of modelling the style and idioms of educated correspondence.[40] Youth periodicals borrowed the extremely popular convention of epistolary tales from eighteenth century adult novels (prime examples including Samuel

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[37] Dauphin, 114.
[38] Poster and Mitchell, 196.
[39] "Du sollst gegen Jedermann auch in Briefen artig und höflich sein, am meisten aber gegen solche Leute, die mehr sind, als du." *Kinderbriefe* (1830), 8.
[40] On the use of letters in periodicals, see Hubert Göbels, *Das Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder (1772-1774): eine Studie über den älteste deutschsprachige Kinderzeitschrift* (Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1973), 85.

Richardson's *Pamela*, 1740, and *Clarissa*, 1759, both of which were translated quickly into German).[41] But that literary style in turn owed its dissemination to what Thomas Beebee calls "the letter's heterogeneous social uses."[42] The readerly nature of epistolary fiction highlights the multivalent nature of correspondence: a letter read by historians always has at least three participants—writer, recipient, historian—and children's letters of the nineteenth century often involved many more readers. For one of many examples, Charlotte, daughter of the frame narrator in Christian Felix Weiße's *Der Kinderfreund*, wrote letters, which were serialized across the run of the weekly, to a friend living on a country estate. In these elaborate letters the girls debated questions about the human experience and shared their personal faults with one another, establishing the kinds of social networks and modes of expression that would serve these readers as adults. In the sequel to this periodical, *Correspondence of the Family of the Children's Friend* (*Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes*, 1792), Weiße decided to abandon the other forms and narrate it entirely in letters. While the rhetoric of these fictional young writers did not exactly resemble to the letters by children that I have read, the use of the epistolary underscores its importance to educating the active child reader and writer.

Returning to the real-life audience of these stories: most children's letters which have been preserved appear rather perfect—still within the range of a young writer's ability, but with few orthographic or linguistic mistakes. Because the children of the Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg house belonged to a family secure in the perception of their own historical importance, even draft versions of the young family members' practice

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[41] Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1982); Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven, eds., *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2000).

[42] Thomas O. Beebee, *Epistolary Fiction in Europe 1500-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6.

letters were preserved.[43] Some of the changes may be the result of self-correction, as when Prince Fritz took three tries to form the word "letter": "Ich will dir einen ~~bru~~ ~~Briew~~ Brief schreiben" ("I want to write you a letter"). But crossed-out words and scribbled-in additions also indicate a likely practice of the child writer preparing a draft that was corrected by an adult and then recopied by the child. In some cases, spelling mistakes in the first version were numbered, and the next page showed the child rewriting the marked words in order ("Wuns" to "Wunsch," [wish] or "sate" to "sagte" [said]).

Children's letters were usually supervised in some fashion, as we can see from exceptions such as nine-year-old Else von Arnim bragging that she wrote one all by herself, "Adieu, my good father, I also pray always for you, that you remain happy and healthy. I have written this letter entirely alone, Mother has not added a single word."[44] In most cases, a parent or teacher reviewed letters composed by children, often critiquing them. Ten-year-old Conrad Meyer's mother told him that his earlier efforts were not worth the postage to mail them before he produced one worthy letter to his father in 1835.[45]

Whatever the degree of adult involvement in correspondence instruction, child writers rarely learned to compose letters in isolation. Sibling collaboration was a common aspect of education in correspondence, again grounding the genre in social interaction even when letters were purely for practice and never sent to their imagined recipients. The set of letters written to Johann August Ernst von Alvensleben by his children and grandchildren includes several examples of the same letter, word for word, copied and written out by

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[43] Erziehung der Prinzen Christian August und Friedrich Emil August, 1800-1813, Herzöge von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, Abt. 22 Nr. 120, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

[44] "Adieu, mein guter Vater, ich bete auch immer für Dich, damit du glücklich und gesund bleibst. Ich habe diesen Brief ganz allein geschrieben, die Mutter hat kein Wort dazugesetzt." Else von Arnim to Heinrich-Alexander von Arnim-Suckow, 1843, in Mencken, 224.

[45] "Es freut mich, das ich jetzt dir einmal schreiben kann, ich hätte dir früher schon geschrieben, aber Mama sagte meine Briefe seien das Porto nicht werth." Conrad Meyer to Ferdinand Meyer, 17 August 1835, in Mencken, 193.

younger siblings. For example, eight-year-old Adelheid wrote the following in French to her father on his birthday in 1801:

> I congratulate you on your birthday and I hope that you will continue to live a long and happy life and I beg you to accept this little gift [probably an attached drawing]. Forgive [me] that I cannot write longer, I do not yet know enough French to write you more. I am, my dear father,
>
> your Adelaïde[46]

Her brother Albrecht ("Albert"), 17 months younger, wrote the very same letter that day, with a few additional errors of spelling and letter formation. In this case the duplicated content of the letter, likely based in part on a model, was apparently less important than the form (to demonstrate skill, or at least developing skill) and the act of writing (to reinforce major family relationships).

In some instances, these documents provide evidence of the letters which were not written. At age 10, Gustav Weise started a letter to his father with the following half-apology: "You must not take it amiss that I did not write to you with Lottchen [his older sister Charlotte], but I think that my letter which I am writing to you now will please you just as much Lottchen's letter."[47] Other letters between Gustav and his father repeat this demand for more frequent or longer letters, with Gustav writing both to convey his educational progress to his absent father and to fulfill the social obligation of sharing household affairs with the traveling businessman.

Gustav and Hermann Weise's exchanges about the failings of the boy's correspondence also demonstrate one of the most common ways letter writing conventions were taught, through continual discussion of the medium in letters. Like video chats or cell

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[46] "Je vous felicite pour votre jour de naissance et je souhaite, que vous viviez encore longtems heureux et je vous prie d'accepter le petit cadeau. Pardonnez que je ne peux plus ecrire, je ne sais pas encore assez le francois pour vous ecrire davantage. Je suis, mon cher pere, Votre Adelaïde." Adelheid von Alvensleben, 7 August 1801, Familie von Alvensleben, Dep. 83 B Nr. 238, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover.

[47] "Du mußt es mir nicht übel nehmen daß ich dir nicht mit Lottchen geschrieben habe, ich denke aber daß dir mein Brief den ich dir jetzt schreibe ebensoviel Freude machen wird als Lottchens Brief." Gustav Weise to Hermann Weise, 24 March 1850, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200-12 Nr. 106, Landesarchiv Berlin.

phone calls today, in which many minutes are preoccupied with frustrations about the connection, comments on the video frame and sound quality, or marveling at the technology's capabilities, children's letters were full of reflections on the practice of writing. Dorothea Schlözer noted to her friend in 1785 that she had written such a long letter that she had hurt her finger.[48] Other children could not generate enough content to fill a letter without resorting to talking about the medium, as when nine-year-old Heinrich Lehmann concluded a letter to his father: "Now I will write nothing further to you, because I do not know what I should write."[49] A particularly funny example of this comes from the later well-known writer Bettina Brentano at age 11, who filled an entire letter to her sister Kunigunde (Gundel) with explanations of why she could not write her a letter:

> You asked me all sorts of [questions] in your letter, but I cannot answer all of them, partly because the post is going out soon, and also because I have lost the letter, and I do not have any more time left to look for it. Content yourself therefore until the next time. Then I want to answer everything that you write to me. Only this news can I tell you, that Marie Sophie [another sister] is angry with you because you have still not written to her.[50]

Letters about letters like this one exerted a social purpose as well as a pedagogic one, even without much news or particular content. Bettina used correspondence to negotiate relationships with these two sisters and others whether or not she had specific information to communicate. Princess Caroline's New Year's card for her father in 1806 was a similar sort of non-letter, composed mostly to forestall him asking why she had not written like her brother: "I am writing you...because I do not want that you should ask as [you did] last year:

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[48] "Nun habe ich Dir doch einen recht langen Brief geschrieben, daß mir die Finger ordentlich weh tun." Dorothea Schlözer to Luise Michaelis, 19 June 1785, in Mencken, 57.

[49] "Jetzt schreibe ich dir nicht weiter, weil ich nicht weiß, was ich dir schreiben soll." Heinrich Lehmann to Theodor Lehmann, 21 January 1861, Nachlass Theodor Lehmann, Abt. 399.1094 Nr. 1-2, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

[50] "Du fragtest mich allerhand in Deinem Brief, aber dies alles kann ich nicht beantworten, teils weil die Post bald fortgeht, und auch deswegen weil ich den Brief verloren habe, und ich habe auch keine Zeit mehr übrig ihn zu suchen. Begnüge Dich also bis auf das nächste Mal. Da will ich Dir alles beantworten, was Du mir schreibst. Nur diese Neuigkeit kann ich Dir sagen, daß die Marie Sophie böse auf Dich ist, daß Du ihr noch nicht geschrieben hast." Bettina Brentano to Kunigunde Brentano, 7 September 1796, in Mencken 101.

why I have not written you [a letter], because Christian did write one to you."[51] But this could go both ways, as when Adelbert Herder used a short letter of 1788 to reproach his traveling father for not writing often enough.[52] The ubiquity of letter writing as a subject in letters—acknowledging, requesting, critiquing, apologizing for, reporting on, or referencing other people's writing—is evidence of the centrality of social relationships to letter writing as a educational practice for children.

Another social-pedagogic use of letters had to do with demonstrating educational accomplishments. Letters were a mechanism for reporting on progress in school to distant parents, as when 10-year-old Carl Seeger informed his father that he was reading books diligently (conveniently, just before he asked for money).[53] Or letters could be used to pass on external judgments of educational achievement, as when August von Tschirschnitz and others enclosed their report cards inside letters to absent parents. (For the record, August secured a 1b, "quite good," in Comportment for the Easter to Michaelmas term of 1841, but only managed a 3b, "very mediocre," in Arithmetic and Writing.)[54]

News of studious labour could also demonstrate educational achievement through the letter as a gift or token. In an 1813 birthday note, Heinrich Wilhelm Weise promised his father to be more industrious, to keep his books in order, to walk on the street in an orderly fashion, and so on.[55] His birthday present was essentially a vow to perform all the duties of a

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[51] "Ich schreibe dir...weil ich nicht will das du wie voriges Jahr fragen sollst: warum ich dir keinen geschrieben habe, da doch Christian dir einen schrieb." Caroline Amalie to Herzog Friedrich Christian II, 1 January 1806, Herzöge von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, Abt. 22 Nr. 135, Landesarchiv Schleswig.
[52] "Sie werden nun in Rom seyn, wir freuen uns alle Tage, wenn Freitag und Sonntag ein Brief von ihnen Kommt. Wir haben recht lange von ihnen keinen Brief gekricht." Adalbert Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 22 September 1788, in Mencken, 73.
[53] Carl Seeger to Christoph Dionysius Seeger, 30 October 1783, Familienarchiv von Seeger, Q 3/28 Bü 7, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.
[54] August von Tschirschnitz to Wilhelm von Tschirschnitz & Zeugnis, 16 May 1841, Wilhelm von Tschirschnitz, Hann. 91 Acc. 183/95 Nr. 112, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover.
[55] Heinrich Wilhelm Weise to Friedrich Wilhelm Weise, 8 March 1813, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200-12 Nr. 14, Landesarchiv Berlin.

self-controlled child of the Enlightenment. The quality of letters could itself be the gift, as with the Alvensleben collection. The presents they composed for their (grand)father's birthdays took the form of Latin odes, essays, and drawings to demonstrate the skills they were acquiring, as well as notes written in the foreign languages they were studying. This demonstration of their affection through the display of their *Bildung* was certainly something the children worked at, as in Ludolphe's missive c. 1824, "Care ave," whose elegant Latin script indicates that he must have drafted and practiced it earlier.[56] But far from requiring perfection, Johann von Alvensleben saved plenty of "flawed" papers from his children: a poem with provisional stress marks only partly erased, a drawing from Auguste which she wanted to get back after the birthday so she could correct some self-perceived faults, and the French letters quoted above by letter writers who did not really yet know French.

Indeed, the "childish" mistakes which marked a letter as supposedly more natural were prized in notes intended to display a young person's *Bildung*.[57] Young Jacob Burckhardt wrote greetings to his grandmother which his mother originally glossed by noting that five-year-old Jacob had made "this beautiful letter" for her with the help of his tutor. But she clearly was disabused of this and encouraged to add a corrective: "No! Just now he says: Herr Munzinger guided his hand to the position for *beautiful* [letters] and the "*untidy"* [parts] he wrote *alone*."[58] While this can be interpreted as an overly scrupulous little boy acknowledging his debts and faults, he is at the same time exerting ownership over the

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[56] Familie von Alvensleben, Dep. 83 B Nr. 238, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover.

[57] See Ruberg (2005).

[58] "Hier ein *gar* schöner Brief von Jacöbli, den er heute bey Herrn Munzinger gebar, und welchen aber Letzterer gar ausmachen mußte, weil er noch so entsetzlich harzig von statten gieng.– Nein! So eben sagt er: Herr Munzinger habe ihm am *schönen* Ort die Hand geführt und das *Wüste* habe er *Allein* geschrieben." Jacob Burckhardt and Susanna Maria Burckhardt (née Schorndorff), 4 October 1823, in Mencken, 186. The original German here (specifically, "Wüste") is archaic or only in regional use today to mean something like "jumbled, disordered." Burckhardt scholars who looked at his juvenilia seem to have interpreted the sentence in a similar fashion. See Fritz Kaphahn, ed., *Jacob Burckhardt Briefe, mit einer biographischen Einleitung* (Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1935.), xxii-xxiii; Otto Markwart, *Jacob Burckhardt: Persönlichkeit und Jugendjahre* (Basel: Schwabe, 1920), 180.

mistakes through this correction. Furthermore, his mother seems proud both of the resulting imperfect letter and of his precision regarding the tutor's assistance. The significant place of children's correspondence in the social life of the family is reflected in the very archiving practices that led to the preservation of letters like these.

A key explanation of why families treasured this letter writing style, which adults determined to be "childlike," relates to changing definitions of how a child should "naturally" behave and feel during the years around 1800. Letters constituted a useful tool for educating the emotions of young writers, and teaching children how to articulate feeling in a socially useful way. This is evident in the opening example of this chapter, when Peter Paulsen told his son that the letter the boy had written was proof of his love—through his diligence, obedience, and education. This framework for the emotions of childhood asserted that children's tempers, consciences, and feelings for others (especially their parents) should be expressed in a natural and heartfelt manner, but also mediated by moral reading and writing. As Willemijn Ruberg observes, "a child was free to write as he or she wished (confidingly, naturally, individually), as long as this remained within the bounds of what was deemed proper."[59] The writer Matthias Claudius published his six-year-old son Fritz's letter in 1795 as a paragon of "child-like letter style," probably because of Fritz's disorganized but repeated expressions of love which gave the letter a sense of spontaneity and demonstrated his successful instruction in sentimentalism.[60] In a similar vein, after six-year-old Andreas Heusler signed and dated a 1840 letter to his father, he added a self-deprecating postscript to describe the note as "not much but from the heart."[61] However, not every expression of filial love can be read simply as evidence of new sentimentalism, or thoughtless acquiescence

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[59] Ruberg (2011), 139.
[60] "als 'Muster eines kindlichen Briefstils...'" "Es ist wohl zuviel, aber ich muß doch noch einmal grüßen." Fritz Claudius to Matthias Claudius, Anna Rebbekka Behn, & Hans Claudius, 18 August 1795, in Mencken 106-107.
[61] "Ich danke dir vir dein brüflein lebe wohl von Andreas Heusler 1840 Wenig aber von Herzen." Andreas Heusler to Andreas Heusler-Ryhiner, 1840, in Mencken, 221.

to adult expectations. Nine-year-old Adelbert Herder's longing for his absent father makes an impression when he refashions formulas in the closing to this 1788 letter: "live well think always on us, because we have always thought about you in the evening as [when] I lay with Mother on the sofa and closed my eyes, I have always seen you. live a thousand thousand times well."[62]

[62] "..leben sie wohl denken sie immer an uns, denn wir haben immer an Sie gedacht den Abend wie ich bei der Mutter auf den Canapee lag und die Augen zumachte habe ich sie immer gesehen. leben sie tausend tausend mahl wohl." Adelbert Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 8 August 1788, in Mencken, 72.

Letter Writing as Social Instrument

Children's letters have mostly been mined by historians for biographic information, or presented as simple ephemeral objects. In fact, for the writers and recipients, letter writing exerted a very important social purpose. This section demonstrates how children used letters as a means of learning sociability, building relationships within (primarily) kinship networks, and cultivating socially situated selves. Dierks's explanation of the social capital accrued through letter writing for middle-class families in early America rings true for German children as well: "By demystifying the rules and conventions of letter writing, a social practice traditionally symbolic of power, authors of familiar letter manuals helped middling families pursue their claims to social refinement and upward mobility."[63] Children's primary correspondents were their parents, but letters written to grandparents and other relatives have also been preserved, as well as correspondence with teachers, family servants, and peers (especially siblings). Though their circles were certainly smaller as children, the forms of writing practiced by young people persisted into adult communications for a range of purposes.

What do these letters reveal about child writers' awareness of their readers? The common practice of conveying greetings, mentioned above, indicates the readership of a child's letter beyond the immediate recipient. For example, eight-year-old Annette von Droste-Hülshoff included kisses from all her family to her grandmother in a short note of 1805, but then realized she had left someone out: "I had almost forgotten the good grandpa, kiss him for me."[64] Similarly, Ferdinand Freiligrath added a postscript to his 1824 birthday

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[63] Dierks, 31.

[64] "Wir alle küssen Dir in Gedanken die Hände. Ich verbleibe Deine Dich liebende Enkelin, Nette. Hülshoff, den 31ten Dezemb. 1805. Bald hätte ich den guten Großpapa vergessen, küsse ihn für mich." Annette von Droste-Hülshoff to her grandmother, 31 December 1805, in Mencken, 143. In addition to her own poetry and novels, von Droste-Hülshoff contributed several fairy tales to the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in her youth (see Chapter 3).

note for an aunt: "Father and Mother, as well as my siblings, also send their good wishes to you; they would have done this themselves, but they are prevented by their business, [and] they will nevertheless have their compliments to pay to you themselves next Sunday."[65] Letters were rarely a solitary endeavor for children. On both the sending and receiving end, writing letters brought children's language and skills to the attention of adults in their lives as they were shared and commented on. This might explain the formal tone of an 1806 letter by 10-year-old Ottilie von Pogwisch: "Madame Mittel was just at my aunt's. She told me a children's story, from which I gather that she is a very good and charitable woman."[66] This was followed by the usual sharing and sending of affectionate greetings. One direct example of this practice comes from an 1831 entry of Anna Krahmer's diary at age 16, when she described the embarrassment of her sister reading aloud a letter from Anna's love interest, Heinrich, in front of a small group playing cards at home. Anna was mortified that her friends and family heard Heinrich dismiss her affection for him in the letter, but sharing letters aloud was clearly not an unusual custom in itself.[67]

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[65] "Vater und Mutter, so wie meine Geschwister, laßen Ihnen auch Glück wünschen; sie würden dieß selbst getan haben, aber sie sind durch ihre Geschäfte daran verhindert, haben jedoch Ihren selbst nächsten Sonntag ihren Glückwunsch mündlich abzustatten." Ferdinand Freiligrath to his aunt, 31 March 1824, Fr. S 320, Lippische Landesbibliothek.

[66] "Eben war Madam Mittel bei meiner Tante. Sie hat mir eine Jugendgeschichte erzählt, woraus ich schließe, daß sie eine sehr gute und wohltätige Frau ist. Adieu liebe Mutter, vergiß uns nicht. Ich bitte, küsse doch in meinen und Ulrikens Nahmen, die Dich herzlich unarmt, die liebe Tante. Viele Complimente an Marie von uns beide." Ottilie von Pogwisch to Henriette Ulrike Ottilie von Pogwisch, 1806, in Mencken, 142.

[67] "Therese, Gustav Honig und ich saßen im Cabinett, während die Uebrigen Whist spielten. Da kamen die Gratulationsbriefe an Therese von unserm Louis und Heinrich Honig. Während meine Schwester las, führten wir beide unsre Unterhaltung fort, in welcher uns aber auf einmal ein schallendes Gelächter von Therese störte. Mit von Lachen halb erstickter Stimme, las sie eine Stelle aus Heinrichs Brief vot, dessen Inhalt eine Antwort auf meine Neckereien mit Helene Klitzing, in dem Briefe an meine Brüder enthielt. Diese Antwort sollte mir kundthung, ob ich mich in meinen Bemerkungen von Weihnachten gar getäuscht habe. Ach ich täuschte mich, indem ich glaubte und hoffte, daß ich mich in denselben betrogen haben könnte! Mit dem bittersten ernstesten, lieblosesten Tone von der Welt meint er: Ich hätte gewiß Lust, selbst einen Roman zu spielen, da ich ihm einen andichten wollte. Es eien Ideen aus der Mädchenschule her, die mir Therese vielleicht noch austreiben würde; ich Kleine dürfte ja an so etwas noch nicht denken etc. Ach wie lieb war mir sonst immer der Name 'Kleine' von ihm. Und nun braucht er es auf eine so lieblose Weise. Unser bisheriges Verhältnis muß nun aus sein." Anna Krahmer, 11 February 1831.

Prevalent as letter writing was in young people's lives, it also appeared regularly on the pages of the diaries they kept, a practice investigated in the next chapter. Correspondence—letters received, letters sent, letters expected—was a ubiquitous subject simply because it was one facet of daily life, the primary focus of children's personal journals. Young writers also used their diaries to record impatience when waiting for letters, family news which had arrived in letters, and the use of letters to request books or money—all familiar topics mentioned in this chapter. On a separate occasion, for example, Anna Krahmer wrote self-critically of her excitement when a letter for the family arrived from Heinrich.[68] Seventeen-year-old Emil Schneider recorded his expectation of hearing from a friend in his diary, "Philipp has not yet responded to my letter...but patience, I do not yet despair of his friendship.—"[69] But later he did note other correspondence and visits with Philipp, including this report:

> This evening, when I came home, I discovered a letter from Philipp, in which he wrote to me that he had indeed been here yesterday but had not found time to visit me. Nevertheless the letter is witty and shows that he is in good spirits and cheerful.[70]

This quotidian moment illustrates three aspects of letter writing as a social literacy practice: First, the letter is a substitute for a visit and conversation, a means of supporting social connections. Second, as Emil seeks to interpret his friend's emotions from the language of the letter, he is simultaneously evaluating the quality of his peer's style, a pedagogic boon. And third, passages like this one show us how the practices of letter writing and friendship-making mattered to their young recipients, as something worthy of being recorded in a diary.

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[68] Anna Krahmer, 28 April 1831.
[69] "Philipp n'a pas encore rèpondu a ma lettre...mais patience, je ne desespère encore de son amitié.—" Schneider, 22 June 1847.
[70] "Heut Abend, als ich nach Haus kam, fand ich einen Brief von Philipp vor, worin er mir schreibt, daß er gestern zwar hier gewesen, aber keine Zeit, mich zu besuchen, gefunden habe. Sonst ist der Brief launig und zeigt, daß er guten Muthes und heiter ist." Schneider, 30 August 1847.

As is evident in these diary entries, the relationships children cultivated through the practice of letter writing were not limited to the most common connection, parent-child. They also kept up communications through a broader kinship network of grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and close family friends. Henriette and Lisette Pathe, for example, sent an elaborate note of congratulations to their uncle on the occasion of his wedding.[71] More unusually, the Herder children regularly corresponded with their father's valet while he was traveling.[72] In one particularly poignant example crossing outside the immediate family, Fritz Schnizlein wrote to the mother of his classmate August to tell her how unhappy August (age 12) was at military school, reporting, "Your August cries a great deal daily because he is not with you. He may become very sick about it, it would be better if he were with you. Overall it is no longer good for him here."[73] He begged August's mother to bring her son home. Schnizlein's training in formal and intimate correspondence was critical in facilitating this petition.

But by far the most common correspondents for children, after their parents, were siblings. For example, 12-year-old Bettina Brentano lectured her older sister Sophie on the diligent practice of letter writing:

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[71] Henriette and Lisette Pathe to Johann Peter Pathe, 25 April 1819, Nachlass Carl Heinrich Pathe, E Rep. 200-09, Landesarchiv Berlin.

[72] Gottfried Herder to Werner, 14 November 1788, in Mencken, 65-66. According to Herder, when Werner saw beautiful Venetian fishing boats during their trip to Italy, he cried out, "'Oh, if only the children were here!' and mentioned what each of them would have said." "Werner rief einmal über das andre: 'O wenn jetzt doch die Kinder hier wären!' und nannte, was ein jeder sagen würde." Johann Gottfried Herder to Caroline Herder, 11 September 1788, in *Herders Reise nach Italien: Herders Briefwechsel mit seiner Gattin,* ed. Heinrich Düntzer and Ferdinand Gottfried von Herder (Gießen, Germany: Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1859), 67.

[73] "Ihr August weint täglich sehr, daß er nicht bey Ihnen ist. Er kann darüber sehr krank werden, es wäre besser wenn er bey Ihnen wäre. Ueberhaupts ist es weiter gar nicht gut hier seyn." Fritz Schnizlein to Friederike Luise Eichler von Platen (née von Auritz), 6 October 1808, in Mencken, 139.

> I was not yet angry with you because I thought the same, that you had not done it [written], not because you did not love me anymore, but rather because the little Sophie had been a little too lazy.[74]

She demanded stories of amusing balls and more regular correspondence from her sister. With significant age differences between siblings in some cases, letters served a similar pedagogic and social purpose as with parents. Eight-year-old Eduard Mörike wrote letters in order to report on his progress at school to his brother,

> I am quite happy to answer your questions. In Latin I have come so far that I can conjugate "tueor." We do not do much arithmetic in class. School is going quite well for me. August is beginning to know his ABCs. August and I think of you often.[75]

Indeed, it is possible that Eduard's brother may have been better informed about his schooling as a more recent pupil himself. But again, this note underscored the use of education to affirm family bonds. Often, siblings played a part in each other's writing practices not as correspondents but instead by collaborating on a letter. For example, Auguste, Christian, Sophie, Emilie, and Robert Roller all wrote a little note of appreciation in 1808 to their mother, "who so tenderly cares for us." The card was apparently in Christian's hand (the oldest), but it was signed by each of them with differing levels of writing skill.[76] Sibling collaboration could be as simple as the example of a note on special stationery from Sophie von Brüsselle to her father, which concludes with an extra line of greeting written in by her brother Felix to co-opt his sister's letter.[77]

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[74] "Ich war Dir noch nicht böse, denn ich dachte gleich, daß Du es nicht tätest, weil Du mich nicht mehr lieb hast, sondern weil das Sophiechen ein wenig zu faul wäre." Bettina Brentano to Sophie Brentano, 27 February 1797, in Mencken, 101.

[75] "Ich will dir auf Deine Fragen recht gerne antworten. Im Lateinischen bin ich jetzt so weit gekommen, daß ich tueor conjugiren kann. Wir rechnen nicht viel in der Classe. Es geht mir recht gut in der Schule. Der August fängt an zu buchstabieren. Ich und der August denken oft an dich." Eduard Mörike to Karl Mörike, 20 July 1812, in Mencken, 161.

[76] "Der leidlich geliebten Mutter, die so zärtlich für uns sorgt...übergeben wie ihre 5 Kinder, dieses als kleines Zeichen." Roller children to Auguste Roller, 23 February 1808, Nachlass Theodor Roller, Q 2/9 Bü 145, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

[77] Sophie & Felix von Brüsselle to Felix von Brüsselle, c. 1860, Nachlass Familie von Brüsselle, PL 13 Bü 791, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg.

Letter writing served as a technology of the self for these writers, further revealing the connections of the active child reader and writer with the development of modern subjectivities.[78] In the active model of self-formation emerging in European thought by 1800, letters simultaneously demonstrated children's instruction in the conventions of educated correspondence and also offered a mechanism for children to exert agency over their own self-expression, by crafting a written persona with tastes, habits and attitudes. Crucially, this activity centred on a socially situated self: that is, a subjectivity located within and formed by the relationships which structured a bourgeois child's life. Dena Goodman argues that we must consider the self-fashioning work of letters as a social project, with "an understanding of autonomy that begins from the premise that all people are socially embedded and that selves are formed not against relationships with others but in the context of them."[79] Habermas explicitly wrote of the context for this self-making that letters and diaries "were experiments with the subjectivity discovered in the close relationships of the conjugal family."[80] The self-surveillance and self-formation facilitated by letter writing thus also furthered the development of children's social literacy.

Children's correspondence records a variety of projects undertaken for self-improvement. Consider, for example, this passage from a New Year's letter written by Caroline Dorothea Pathe at age 10:

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[78] For Foucault's writings on "technologies of the self," see Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988). On selfhood in modern Europe, a literature also addressed in Chapters 1 and 6, see Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[79] Goodman, 3.

[80] Habermas, 48-49.

> I have often troubled you, beloved parents, through childish carelessness. But in the new year I vow to be a new person. Through diligence and good conduct, I always want to reflect the value of your love.[81]

Caroline's vow partly reflects a common convention of holiday letters, but this passage also demonstrates her engagement in self-examination for her parents' benefit. Letters often show children engaging in this kind of self-surveillance, a practice which, as Philippe Lejeune argues, aimed at "the construction of a subject who becomes autonomous only by taking responsibility for his own subjection."[82] Particularly intriguing in this example is Caroline's self-presentation as inherently flawed because of her youth ("childish carelessness"). The reports of children's industry and discipline which made such frequent appearances in their letters constituted a form of self-examination undertaken explicitly for others. Children's efforts to write well were concerned both with satisfying pedagogic imperatives and with crafting and performing adult selves through social exchanges. This took the form not only of explicit resolutions but also of the smallest details, as when Princess Caroline turned a spelling mistake—misspelling "das" ("the") with an extra s ("that")—into a decorative flower mid-sentence in a letter for her father.[83] Correspondence offered a means for the child writer to strive for self-betterment through acts of editing, and to inhabit a socially-situated self.

In the variety of their correspondence, children were practicing even at a very young age something that was understood as a foundation for their part in the family dynamics and kinship networks over the life course. One of the most prolific letter writers in this study, Gustav Weise, wrote letters from at least age nine (and probably younger) to his father, who

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[81] Caroline Dorothea Pathe to Johann Peter Pathe and Caroline Dorothea Sophie Pathe (née Bastian), 1 January 1831, Nachlass Carl Heinrich Pathe, E Rep. 200-09, Landesarchiv Berlin.

[82] Philippe Lejeune, *On Diary*, ed. Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, trans. Katherine Durnin (Mānoa: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 109.

[83] Caroline Amalie to Herzog Friedrich Christian II, 1 January 1806, Herzöge von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, Abt. 22 Nr. 135, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

was often away trying to rescue a failing family business. Gustav wrote about all the familiar subjects of young children's letters: holidays, health, the small things of life at home. By the end of his father's life, the correspondence preserved in the family collection reveals subjects such as the young man's work as a factory director in Connecticut, the political situation of the United States at the end of the American Civil War, his opinions on what his younger brother Bruno should study and whom his sister should marry. He and his father exchanged news like any adult correspondents, but also participated in family business across an ocean. Gustav transitioned easily from writing to his father about Bruno's new teeth (at age 10) to Bruno's career path (at age 26).

Conclusion

One year before the letter her father wrote to each of her siblings (with which this chapter began), Dora Paulsen sent a letter of her own home from school. At the age of approximately fourteen years, Dora had already absorbed the lessons of letter writing as a social practice, thoroughly established for child writers by the middle of the nineteenth century. She opened this particular letter of 1849 with the self-deprecating trope about not having written frequently enough, and resolving to send an extra long letter—though in reality, it was about the same length as her usual missives. It addressed all the necessary topics for a young person's correspondence: reports on other family members, stories from recent travel, inquiries about relatives' health, and comments on holidays and school activities. Dora's brief valediction captured the ideal style for a bourgeois child, closing: "Adieu, dear parents. Heartfelt greetings from all and to all from your loving daughter."[84] She deployed this short letter to good purpose: for practical reasons, to communicate with her distant family, but also to secure various social ties, to make connections between her parents and other relatives, to situate herself in family circles, and to demonstrate her mastery of the genre conventions and sentimental lexicon.

Like many other letters which constitute this study, the Paulsen family correspondence illustrates the ways in which letter writing functioned for children as both pedagogic exercise and social practice in an era of newly intense discussion about the education and socialization of children. The letters children composed show them exploring genre conventions, learning through writing, and establishing critical social networks. As a result, correspondence aided the formation of class cultures early in childhood. Although

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[84] "Adieu liebe Eltern herzliche Grüße von allen und an alle von eurer euch liebenden Tochter D Paulsen." Dora Paulsen to her parents, 22 September 1849, Nachlass Peter Paulsen, Abt. 399.1113 Nr. 5, Landesarchiv Schleswig.

this use of letter writing was driven by middle-class families such as the Paulsens, similar practices also emerge from the archives of some upper-class or aristocratic children. The nuances of forms and usages across elite classes are worthy of further study, a class analysis of children's letter writing which would explore the boundaries between bourgeois and aristocratic milieus.

These documents sometimes display surprising moments of self-fashioning and lively, engaging voices which bring their young authors to life. They do contain some gaps: there are missing letters and absent voices in largely one-sided stacks of correspondence; corrections and multiple drafts hide mistakes and altered language; and we have few records of the conversations which surrounded children's writing of letters. Yet what these sources demonstrate, contrary to their previous absence in historical research, is the full reach of children's participation in letter writing as it facilitated the emergence of the active child reader and writer. These connections between the social, the self, and education will continue to surface in related but distinct ways through my analysis of youth diaries, the genre addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6
Writing the Self: Growing Up with Diaries

Anyone who has experienced the regret of failing to follow through on some design for self-improvement—say, an exercise regime, or commitment to early rising—will find this sentiment from a young writer in 1838 familiar.

> Once again a long time since writing in this diary. It was a time which actually is not a time at all. One hardly knows something about the elapsed days anymore, if one has not put it down with assiduous and active diligence, and it is a sign of a day well spent when one has also properly observed the diary.[1]

For 15-year-old Wilhelm Dieckhoff, his experiences were scarcely real if he did not record his perspective on them through writing. Dieckhoff's diary reveals a repeating cycle of vowing to write more, better, more often, followed by an eventual lapse. This passage also presents a preoccupation with diligence and desire to monitor time, writing about anxiety and self-reform, and an understanding of diary not as a text but as a practice—elements which all appear throughout the diaries gathered for this chapter.

Bourgeois European children began keeping diaries in unprecedented numbers during the age of revolutions. This increase both in volume and in the attention paid to children's writing produced cases such as Marie Seybold and Hermann Schmidt in Württemberg. In the early 1830s, Marie kept a diary from at least the age of 10; in the 1850s, she ensured that her son, Hermann, did the same, and both were preserved in a family collection.[2] The literacy practice of diary keeping fostered a new kind of subjectivity for young people during this era. Pedagogic philosophy and literature of the late eighteenth

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[1] "Nun so lange wieder nichts in's Tagebuch geschrieben. Es war eine Zeit, die eigentlich gar keine Zeit ist. Man weiß kaum noch etwas vom verflossenen Tage, wenn man ihn nicht mit emsigen u. regen Fleiß hingebracht hat, und Zeichen eines schön verstrichenen Tages ist, wenn man auch das Tagebuch gehörig beobachtet hat." Wilhelm Dieckhoff, 14 December 1838.

[2] The earliest document labeled in the archive as Hermann's diary was in fact written by Marie and her husband, Gottlob Friedrich Schmidt; Hermann was 15 years old at the beginning of his own diary (for the year that was preserved at the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart).

century had begun to view childhood and youth as the crucial life stage for the emergence and formation of the self. From the perspectives of pedagogues, teachers, and parents, shifting and competing conceptions of children's interiority in the early nineteenth century made diary keeping a practice useful both to develop discerning, reasoning subjects and to educate the emotions. But what meaning, then, did diary keeping hold for children themselves? How did they respond to and make use of this practice?

As with letters, it would be easy to overlook these documents as simple artifacts of literacy instruction. Diaries could be dismissed as nothing more than another canvas for practicing penmanship and linguistic development, or perhaps for mechanically echoing didactic ideas about virtue and discipline. But in this chapter I argue that writing instruction was only one reason, and not the most important, why these young writers kept diaries and continued writing for years. Instead, my reading of a range of examples reveals that children and youth used their diaries as rich territory for crafting and negotiating subjectivities as they grew up. Jerrold Seigel has shown "that modern conditions require individuals themselves to participate in forming their selves, and that this need distinguishes modern situations from the typical earlier one in which the self or soul could be viewed as a substance and a kind of cosmic given."[3] As a mechanism for both self-surveillance and self-formation, I argue that diary writing allowed young people simultaneously to satisfy the pedagogic imperatives which demanded continual self-evaluation through literacy, and to use their daily reflections for forging identities, asserting personal taste and opinions, and growing up. Youth diaries thus reveal critical contributions of the active child writer to constructing modern European selfhood.

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[3] Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 43.

The first section of this chapter surveys the history of diary writing and identifies key scholarly interpretations of self-construction in diaries across historical cases. I then introduce the six young German writers in this study and some common characteristics of the documents they created.[4] The final two sections of the chapter examine two modes of self-making: diary as self-surveillance—through monitoring time, anticipating readers, and evaluating industry and emotions, and diary as self-formation—through a complex process of shaping social and emotional selves.

[4] A note on age: Wilhelm Dieckhoff reflected on his 15th birthday that in the past year he had seen himself change from a boy (*Junge*) to a youth (*Jüngling*). "...daß ich in diesem Jahr vom Jungen ein Jüngling ward." Dieckhoff, 4 February 1838. Unlike the letters I discussed in Chapter 5, most of the diaries surveyed in this chapter were written by older youth between the ages of 15 and 18, not young children. Although it is largely a consequence of what I have discovered thus far in the archives, perhaps it is appropriate that the final chapter of this dissertation moves forward both in the age of the subjects and chronologically, with diaries largely written between the 1830s and 1850s.

Diaries Across Historical Cases

> "I never travel without my diary. One should always have something sensational to read on the train."
>
> – Gwendolyn Fairfax,
> in Oscar Wilde's 1895 play *The Importance of Being Earnest*

In my analysis of diaries written by children and youth in the particular milieu of the nineteenth-century Bildungsbürgertum, I argue that diary keeping was a powerful means of self-construction. In order to investigate that process, I first offer an introduction to the genre and what historians have discovered about diary writing as a practice of the self in other cases. As Irina Paperno writes in the introduction to a special issue of *Russian Review*, spending time with other people's personal papers "has long been a privilege of students of history and literature."[5] Paperno also identifies a curious trope of this field which insists on the marginality of diaries while historians nevertheless continue to rely regularly on diaries and related personal narratives as evidence. Indeed, Rachael Langford & Russell West's collection of essays on European diary writers is titled with this frame, as *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms*; they attribute this marginality to varied assessments of diaries as "self-indulgent ... antiquated ... banal... dangerously biased [or] a debased form of fictional production."[6] Langford and West suggest that the dual and mutable qualities which make diaries so rich for historical analysis have also discouraged researchers: "The diary, as an uncertain genre uneasily balanced between...the spontaneity of reportage and the reflectiveness of the crafted text, between selfhood and events...between the private and the public, constantly disturbs attempts to summarise its characteristics within formalised

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[5] Irina Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries?" *Russian Review* 63, no. 4 (2004): 561.
[6] Rachel Langford and Russell West, eds., *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 6.

boundaries."[7] This pervasive sense that diaries remain under-theorized suggests we need to spend more time assessing how they have worked in different contexts.[8]

Addressing archivists, Heather Beattie has called for an expansion of the notion of provenance when cataloguing diaries, moving beyond the connection of a record with a single individual or family toward metadata related to the motivation for writing, the imagined audience, and implications of the custodial history. Her piece underscores one reason why it is so difficult to locate diaries in archives, because they are catalogued in relation to their creators rather than connected to the social context of their creation. Still, some massive, nationally based projects for identifying and collecting personal narratives can give us some sense of the range of diaries written in Europe (as one type of egodocument included in these cataloging projects).[9] Despite a strong cultural association between diaries and women since the nineteenth century, surprisingly only 10% of the texts collected by the Dutch egodocuments inventory were written by women.[10] One explanation is that this inventory also includes published autobiographies, which may bias the collection toward men; the figure also derives from all documents collected between 1500 and 1918, and the

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[7] Ibid., 8.

[8] When historians have examined diaries, they have often been studied as related to other genres variously called lifewriting, egodocuments, or personal narratives. It is striking that much of the literature review in Suzanne Bunkers and Cynthia Huff's introduction to their collection on diaries focuses on studies of autobiography. Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia Huff, eds., *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). See also Marlene Kadar, *Reading Life Writing: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). By contrast, while he builds from work on egodocuments more generally, Jeroen Blaak analyzes four Dutch diaries for evidence about literacy and reading choices between the 1620s and 1770s. Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). In the German historiography, Rüdiger Görder surveys the diaries of famous writers in order to ask questions about form, audience, and time. Rüdiger Görner, *Das Tagebuch: Eine Einführung* (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1986). Similarly, in a study of writers like Goethe, Kierkegaard, and Kafka, Manfred Jurgensen is more interested in diary writing as a literary process. Manfred Jurgensen, *Das fiktionale Ich: Untersuchungen zum Tagebuch* (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag, 1979). On a much less elite group, see Helmut Ottenjann and Günter Wiegelmann, eds., *Alte Tagebücher und Anschreibebücher: Quellen zum Alltag der ländlichen Bevölkerung in Nordwesteuropa* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1982).

[9] See, for example, the Deutsches Tagebucharchiv in Emmendingen (DTA, German), the Onderzoeksinstituut Egodocument en Geschiedenis (Dutch), or the Association pour l'autobiographie et le Patrimoine Autobiographique (l'APA, French).

[10] Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 265.

percentage of women writing diaries has clearly climbed over time. Diaries have been studied all over the world, but there are also some nationally-specific differences.

Scholars differ in their explanations of the chronology of diary writing. Jürgen Schlaeger, for instance, attributes the growing preoccupation with writing the self in the Renaissance to printing and the Reformation.[11] Philippe Lejeune, a widely-recognized expert on the history of personal narratives in Europe, suggests that the period around 1800 was key to the evolution of the modern diary, as it emerged from bureaucratic genres and the family chronicle.[12] Lejeune also quotes Marie d'Agoult, who identified her own diary-writing impulse in 1805 as a German custom: "In my younger years, I had felt the necessity to keep a record of my impressions, in the German manner."[13] Paperno traces a chronology of what "the self" has meant to diarists of different eras, from Puritans and Pietists monitoring "the sinful self" in the seventeenth century, to diarists in the Enlightenment pursuing moral and affective self-perfection, to Romantics "inspired by a new historicist sense," to positivists in the later nineteenth century writing for scientific self-observation, to twentieth-century writers who "absorbed the modernist impulse for deliberate self creation."[14] Karen Sánchez-Eppler wisely suggests that chronologies of diary practices cannot be drawn too starkly, because individual writers often deployed their diaries to multiple purposes simultaneously.[15] Regardless of finer distinctions, it is clear that there was a dramatic increase in the volume of diaries written in Europe during the early nineteenth century. The editors of *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self*, which emerged from the Dutch egodocuments project, attribute this increase not only to the secularization of introspection, but at least in part to pedagogic

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[11] Jürgen Schlaeger, "Self-Exploration in Early Modern Diaries," in *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History*, ed. Rachel Langford and Russell West (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 23.
[12] Lejeune, 51. See also Jeremy D. Popkin, "Philippe Lejeune, Explorer of the Diary," in *On Diary* (2009), 7.
[13] Philippe Lejeune, *On Diary*, ed. Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, trans. Katherine Durnin (Mānoa: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 135.
[14] Paperno, 563.
[15] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States* (2005), 19.

reforms which brought newly intense focus to children's writing and trained adults to include diary keeping as a normal everyday practice from a young age.[16]

In considering the particular meaning of diary writing in the lives of middle-class German young people, I follow Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, who make the case for scrutinizing the social context and generic characteristics of diaries when using them for historical evidence, that is: "their rootedness in very specific, and generally very limited social milieus and phases of the life cycle as well as the changing conventions that affected what they were expected to reveal and conceal."[17] One celebrated work which does this is Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's excavation of a diary kept by eighteenth-century American midwife Martha Ballard.[18] Among other contributions, Ulrich demonstrates that the diary she explores does more than simply reflect what is already known about early American society: "By restoring a lost substructure of eighteenth-century life, it transforms the nature of the evidence upon which much of the history of the period has been written."[19] I suggest that examining the diaries kept by children and youth similarly "restore[s] a lost substructure" by revealing not only what pedagogues wrote that young people *should* be doing and thinking, but also what these diarists recorded of their own experiences.

Turning now to what we know specifically about children and youth as diary writers, let me begin with some examples of how contemporary pedagogues encouraged the

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[16] Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch, eds., *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Boston, 2011), 3-4.
[17] Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 92.
[18] Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale* (1991).
[19] Ibid., 27.

practice.[20] As early as 1772, the periodical *Leipzig Weekly for Children* (see Chapter 2) used a diary format to structure its moral didacticism and light entertainment. "Little Carl" was instructed by his teacher each evening to write down everything remarkable that had happened to him. There are a number of interesting features of the practice advocated by the *Leipzig Weekly*, from the emphasis that this was Carl's "own book" to the suggestion that Carl enjoyed sharing his diary biweekly with his teacher for gentle review. The magazine made a point of the diary being kept "very secret" (apart from his parents and tutor, of course), though it appears in one issue that Carl's mischievous sister Caroline has taken over the diary for her own observations.[21] The entries themselves did not greatly resemble what real children did with their diaries, being unsurprisingly longer, more literary, more polished, and more priggish. Nevertheless, the use of diaries as a form suggested that it was an increasingly common and important practice for children to record their activities and perceptions in something resembling these fictional examples.

Christian Felix Weiße recommended a similar writing habit for readers of his periodical *Der Kinderfreund* and also used a fictional diary by his "daughter" Charlotte to convey serial family stories. Weiße's description of the virtues of diary keeping reveals how the adult practice was translated for young writers by Enlightenment pedagogues, as when he

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[20] For a discussion of advice books in French, German, and Dutch which began advocating diaries for children at the end of the eighteenth century, see Arianne Baggerman, "Lost Time: Temporal Discipline and Historical Awareness in Nineteenth-Century Dutch Egodocuments," in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self,* 474. In *Child of the Enlightenment*, Baggerman and Dekker identify a similar pattern in Dutch sources, suggesting that though pedagogues began to write about diaries in the 1760s and 1770s, it is difficult to find many actual diaries kept by young people until the early nineteenth century. Baggerman and Dekker (2009), 97.

[21] "Carlchen ist von seinem Lehrmeister gewöhnt worden, daß er alles aufschreibt, was ihm den Tag über Merkwürdiges begegnet. Er hat dazu ein eigenes Buch, und alle Abend, wenn er von Tische kömmt, wendet er ein Paar Stunden dazu an, sein Tagebuch fortzusetzen....Alle Mittwoch und Sonnabend liest er es seinem Lehrmeister vor, und dieser spricht mit ihm darüber, und wenn Carlchen bey einer oder der andern Sache einen besondern Zweifel, oder sonst ein Anliegen gehabt hat, so erkläret er es ihm. Dieses Tagebuch hält er sehr geheim, und zeiget es niemanden, als seinen Altern und seinem Lehrmeister. Aber seine Schwester Carolinchen hat heimlich ein Paar Seiten daraus abgeschrieben, daraus wir das Merkwürdigste hier mittheilen wollen." *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* 2 November 1772.

advocated children reading aloud their catalogues of good and bad behavior for their teacher, siblings, and parents to hear. He also contended that diary-keeping would help children organize their time and improve their writing facility.[22] *Der Kinderfreund* was translated into Dutch in 1791, and in their study *Child of the Enlightenment*, Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Decker name it as possible inspiration for one boy's parents in their encouragement of his diary writing during the 1790s.[23]

Despite the fact that the most famous diary in the western world was written by a young girl (Anne Frank), we have not yet seen many studies specifically investigating the practices of children's diaries. Still, there are a few striking examples of scholars interested in the part diary writing played in the lives of children and youth, including *Child of the Enlightenment*, Baggerman and Decker's intensive reading of the diary Otto van Eck kept from age 10 to 17. In many ways, his diary resembles the German examples discussed here, with the diary recording his educational progress as well as his daily activities. But, as Baggerman and Decker extensively demonstrate, Otto's writing resulted from a much more intentional pedagogic project of his Enlightened parents than did most of the 1830s and 1840s diaries discussed in this chapter. Consequently, his writing voice was much more self-critical, as in this entry at age 10 in 1791: "Began the day crying, because, not being called early enough, I was afraid I wouldn't be able to catch up with yesterday's diary."[24] Although this anxiety about writing was not unknown to the German writers I have studied, their self-

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[22] "Ich habe sie nämlich gewöhnt, ein Tagebuch von allen ihren Geschärften und Handlungen aufzusetzen. Selbst ihre Fehler müssen sie darinnen Frey anzeigen, und sie Thun es gern, weil sie da mit einer kleinen freundschaftlichen und liebreichen Erinnerung wegkommen, da sie bey Verheimlichung nachdrücklichere Verweise und Vorstellungen zu fürchten haben. Sie lernen dadurch genau auf ihre Handlungen acht geben, und, da ihr Journal gemeiniglich in unserer aller Gegenwart abgelesen wird, so bemühen sie sich, daß es doch immer eher ein Verzeichnis ihres Wohlverhaltens als ihrer Fehler wird....Ein anderer Vorbei ist, daß sie Ordnung in Einteilung ihrer Zeit lernen...Endlich lernen sie auch eine Fertigkeit im Schreiben, und sich über mancherlei Dinge freimütig, leicht und gut ausdrücken." Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1 (1778 reprint p. 33).

[23] Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment* (2009), 108-10.

[24] Ibid., 43.

reflections were more likely to be positive than Otto's. Consequently, Otto's diary also reveals persistent struggles between the writer and his parents, with Otto's writerly agency sometimes manifesting as resistance to the whole project. As Baggerman asserts elsewhere, "as a pedagogical tool, children's diaries had an entirely different impact on diary-writing than the liberating effect they were thought to have; on the contrary, such diaries led parents to exercise coercion and prompted guilt-ridden children to write very short entries."[25] As will be explored in detail below, this pattern was evident in some but certainly not all of the diaries kept by German youth in the early nineteenth century.

In *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture,* which is concerned with the place of children in the development of early American literature and middle-class society, Karen Sánchez-Eppler also uses children's diaries to form part of her evidence. These writers, whom Sánchez-Eppler recognizes as an elite group, used their diary keeping as a record of their reading, school work, catechism, daily habits, travel, and relationships, much like their counterparts across the Atlantic. Sánchez-Eppler especially captures the contradictions of agency and pedagogy which also animate the diaries discussed in this chapter. She writes,

> virtually all of these children fluctuate in their writing between presenting literacy as a discipline and finding in the act of writing an invitation to imagine and play. If writing still largely figures in these journals as something to worry about, a measure for reckoning moral and pedagogical worth, it is not only that. The glee, anxiety, and drudgery of writing collide on these pages, attesting to the contradictions in social attitudes toward both literacy and childhood.[26]

From yet another national perspective, Marilyn Himmesöete's study of nineteenth-century French diarists also reveals an interest in writing as agency, but specifically in what she sees as the rebellions of older children and youth. She suggests that diaries allowed their authors

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[25] Baggerman, "Lost Time" (2011), 470-71.
[26] Sánchez-Eppler, 19.

to "formulate the rebellion, the injustices and the dissatisfaction they felt, even if their efforts to do so were measured, limited, understated and rare...Diaries allowed teenagers to practice self-control, while helping them to shape their selves."[27] Although Himmesöete may go too far in reading for these moments of rebellion (inflected, perhaps, by her choice of the anachronistic term "teenager"), this balance between self-formation and self-control was crucial in the German context as well. Finally, as other scholars of personal narratives have observed, it is worth remembering that diary writing is always marked by age as a category of analysis for the writers themselves, as well as for historians. Even for adult writers, a diary marks the passage of time and self development, which both invite reflections on childhood, youth, and growing older.

Throughout the scholarly literature on diary keeping, the construction of selfhood is a recurring preoccupation. Philippe Lejeune writes about daily self-examination as an ancient practice, but one which did not result in anything like diaries *for oneself* until new religious versions appeared in the middle ages. Moving forward to the flourishing of self-surveillance through diaries in the Enlightenment, he begins another essay by asking his readers to reflect on their own use of the last day:

> Then examine the results and ask yourself whether you have put your time to good use, and whether you have got the balance of your activities right....Your life will be changed and you will attain happiness, and be thankful to me. But you should really be thankful to Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775-1848) and his *Biometre or Hourly Memorial (Biomètre ou Mémorial horaire*)...[28]

Jullien's 1813 booklet emerged from his pedagogic writings, obsessed with the efficient use of time and regular self-observation. Lejeune argues convincingly that this Enlightened

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[27] Marilyn Himmesoëte, "Writing and Measuring Time: Nineteenth-Century French Teenagers' Diaries," in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self,* ed. Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch (Leiden: Boston, 2011), 165. On the diaries of older French girls, see also Philippe Lejeune, *Le moi des demoiselles: Enqûete sur le journal de jeune fille* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1993).
[28] Lejeune (2009), 102.

mode of self-examination aimed at "the construction of a subject who becomes autonomous only by taking responsibility for his own subjection."[29] He closes with a fascinating comment on the 1828-1829 diary of Stéphanie Jullien, a document he has also written about elsewhere. This Romantic-era diary flouts several aspects of the practice advocated by Marc-Antoine Jullien—her father—since Stéphanie addresses her diary affectionately instead of detailing of her faults and accomplishments in the "objective" third person. By pointing out the apparent gulf between daughter and father's diary practices, Lejeune suggests that these two models of crafting a self on paper are perhaps not as opposed as they seem.

Blaak looks at another kind of selfhood in his analysis of eighteenth-century Jacoba von Thiel's diary.[30] As an older, religious mode of self-examination, it has some resonance with the self-surveillance of the nineteenth-century German diaries discussed here, but it aimed at a different purpose: monitoring spiritual progress versus individual self-improvement. In *Inscribing the Daily*, Bunkers & Huff claim that in the women's diaries studied in their collection, "the self is sustained and assessed by its renewed commitment to others," rather than predicated on personal moral behavior or thoughts.[31] Finally, two key observations from Peter Burke and Arianne Baggerman frame my understanding of selfhood practices in early nineteenth-century German youth diaries. Burke identifies an active model of self-formation in European thought around 1800, in which "the self is not only the garden, but the gardener as well. The active model, including projects for self-development, illustrates what Koselleck has called the new sense of the future as

[29] Lejeune (2009), 109.
[30] Blaak, 274-77.
[31] Bunkers and Huff, 19.

constructible, but on an individual level."[32] Clearly diary writing was one such "project for self-development." Baggerman emphasizes the workings of the situated self, in which diaries indicate not "a passion to unveil one's inner self so much as the need to describe the world around one, or rather, to situate oneself in relation to that world."[33] She suggests that these writers were often driven by the need to write "impersonal autobiography" for collective family memory. This was not necessarily the only motive acting in the creation of the children and youth's diaries I study, but the crucial point is that the form of selfhood developed by these young writers was not simply that of the Romantic individual or a "true inner self," but rather a social subjectivity, created through writing observations about family, school friends, and the world.

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[32] Peter Burke, "Historicizing the Self, 1770-1830," in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century,* ed. Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch (Leiden: Boston, 2011), 19.
[33] Baggerman (2011), 466.

Diaries of German Youth in the Nineteenth Century

Few diaries written by children and youth before the twentieth century have received extensive attention, and those that have been studied often belong to writers who became famous in adulthood.[34] The sources discussed in this chapter were not preserved because their writers later became well-known. My examination of these relatively ordinary diaries seeks to understand a range of patterns and conventions by reading a small set of texts in close detail. I intend to highlight the ways young people wrote about their own lives, with diary keeping as one of a set of practices which formed the literate middle-class child's socialization experiences. One valuable approach to reading historical diaries is to mine them for data about schooling, material culture, daily life, kinship networks, biographies, and so on.[35] Here, however, I am concerned with how diary keeping worked as a genre and practice of self-elaboration in young people's lives.

Before introducing the six writers at the heart of this chapter, a brief word on how I have defined the boundaries of my source collection: In the course of seeking children's diaries in collections of archived family papers throughout German state archives, as well as in the growing Deutsches Tagebucharchiv ("German Archive for Diaries," DTA), I have encountered a number of related documents which are valuable sources but remain tangential to this study. These include the travel diaries of aristocratic youth, such as the 1748 journal kept by Friedrich Eugen, the 16-year-old future Duke of Württemberg (1732-1797), or the 1837 account of Maximilian zu Lynar's (1825-1914) trip to Bad Kösen at

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[34] Some exceptions include Philippe Lejeune, *Le moi des demoiselles: enquête sur le journal de jeune fille* (Paris: Seuil, 1993); Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). See below.

[35] One example of this approach is a recent study by economic historian Jane Humphries, in which she scoured more than 600 autobiographies by working-class British men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for data about child labor and industrialization. Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

age 12. In this group also belong daily notebooks by young people in noble families, such as one kept by Prince Christian August (1768-1810) of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg from age 13 to 17 of his "Thoughts, Ambitions, Words, and Deeds."[36] Similarly, Mathilde Countess von Voß, later zu Lynar (1803-1838) began a diary at age 15 with the expectation, "I think it will give me much pleasure."[37] These texts share some characteristics with the diaries which I read more closely in this chapter, but they were not a product of the same middle-class pedagogic impulses.[38] Mathilde was married only a year after she ended her youthful diary, and Maximilian's notebook was more pedagogic experiment than quotidian record; Friedrich Eugen and Christian August's papers were a matter of royal record. The following six writers allow us greater insight into the developing middle-class literacy practice of diary keeping for children and youth.

Diaries: portraits of six writers

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich writes that "Opening a diary for the first time is like walking into a room full of strangers."[39] This section provides brief introductions to the diaries which will be referred to regularly throughout the chapter, so that their authors will be more familiar.

Marie Henriette Seybold

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[36] "Gedanken, Begierden, Worten, und Handlungen." Prinz Christian August, 1781.
[37] "...ich denke es wird mir viel Vergnügen machen." Mathilde de Voß, 23 May 1818, *Rep. 37 Lübbenau Nr. 5234*, BLHA.
[38] A future study might investigate the technologies of the self that surface in these more elite examples of youth diaries as a measure of the ambiguous boundaries between bourgeois and aristocratic family cultures.
[39] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 35.

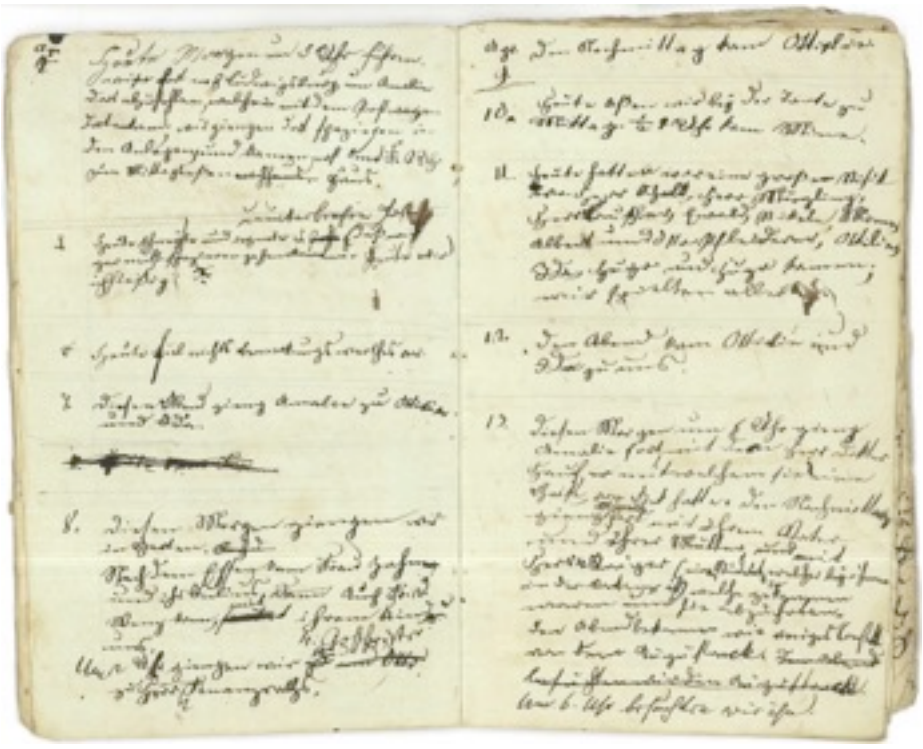

Figure 23. Two typical pages from Marie Seybold's diary, April 1830
Source: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

Marie's diary makes her the youngest writer of this group at age 10. Marie was born September 12, 1819 to a Protestant family in Brackenheim, a town on the Zaber river in the wine-growing region of Heilbronn, Württemberg. Her father, Christoph Georg Jacob von Seybold (1778-1846), was the *Oberamtsrichter*, a district magistrate.[40] Her mother was Christiana Henriette Wilhelmine Nestel (1786-1864).[41] Marie was the third of four children: brother Otto and sister Amalia were five and four years older, and her sister Bertha was 3 years younger.

[40] Although some members of Marie's family had been ennobled, this particle "von" did not indicate a high inherited nobility (Marie's grandfather was called simply Joseph Johann Friedrich Seybold and her brother Otto did not inherit the "von"). The Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg archival finding aid refers to the Seybold and Schmidt family collection as documenting the social history of the "württembergischen Bürgertum."
[41] Through the Seybolds and Nestels, Marie was related to a few well-known literati, including her great-uncle David Christoph Seybold (1747-1804), editor of a moral weekly and professor of classical philology at Jena and Tübingen. David Christoph Seybold, *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (ADB).

Marie began this installment of her diary on February 8, 1830 at the age of nearly 10 and a half, and wrote at least one or two lines every day until the last entry on May 9, 1831 (at the age of 11 and a half). The diary filled two small notebooks of plain paper, which she divided with lines between each relatively brief entry, and marked with dates in the margins. She was extremely diligent about her daily discipline. A lack of introductory comments or final remarks indicate that this was neither the first nor the last diary Marie kept, even it was the only one to reach the archive.

On October 2, 1838, at the age of 19, she married 26-year-old Gottlob Friedrich von Schmidt (1812-1883), which is why her diary was preserved among the Schmidt family documents held at the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg. Gottlob Schmidt was an agricultural scientist who attended the Agricultural Academy in Hohenheim and studied beet sugar production in France before eventually being appointed to Württemberg's Royal Building and Garden Administration (*Königliche Bau- und Gartendirektion*). They had four children: three boys who married and had medical and military careers, and one girl who remained single and was active in women's organizations in Stuttgart. Marie died at age 69 on November 26, 1888 in Stuttgart.[42]

Anna Krahmer[43]

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[42] Seybold biographical information comes primarily from "Zur Geschichte der Familie (von) Schmid(t)," Bestand Q 3/48, *Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg*, https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/einfueh.php?bestand=6848.

[43] Note: Wherever the context is unclear throughout the rest of the chapter, I refer to Anna Krahmer as Anna K. and Anna Hasenfratz (see below) as Anna H.

Figure 24. Anna Krahmer at age 15 in a drawing by Gottfried Schadow, 1830
Source: Deutsches Tagebucharchiv.

Anna Krahmer, who grew up in Prussia in the 1820s and 1830s, wrote voluminous diaries from at least as young as 13 years old, although only portions of these have been archived.[44] Anna was born April 1, 1815 to parents Wilhelm David Friedrich (Fritz) Krahmer (1776-1844) and Wilhelmine Friederike Benecke (1786-1854). One of six children, her sisters Therese (eight years older) and Berta (two years younger) appeared most frequently in the pages of her diary. Anna was educated first by a tutor at home and then attended a girls' secondary school.

The document available at the DTA is an excerpted transcription of the diary which Anna kept from age 15 to age 19 (1830-1834).[45] She wrote at least a short paragraph every day, but unlike Marie Seybold, she often composed entries of four or five times that length. The primary purpose of this diary appears to have been for Anna's own benefit: to record

[44] On October 3, 1831, Anna wrote about rereading her diaries of the preceding three years.
[45] Although it is a challenge not to have access to the complete source, the presentation of Anna Krahmer's diary is an intriguing example of how personal narratives have been preserved, passed down, and understood in the context of a family.

the day's events and her memories, and to release and probe her emotions. The abridgment by Anna's descendent Rosemarie Jahnke in 1978 may have overrepresented entries in which Anna wrote about her love affair with her cousin Heinrich Honig (1809-1881).[46]

At the age of 23, Anna and Heinrich finally married. After Heinrich's father's death, the couple managed the family estate in Egeln, Sachsen-Anhalt (near Magdeburg), and had at least six children. Anna died at the age of 75 on December 24, 1890 in Berlin.[47]

Wilhelm Dieckhoff

August Wilhelm Dieckhoff was born in Göttingen on February 5, 1823. By the time he began this diary in 1838, he was attending secondary school in Clausthal in the Harz mountains, about 35 miles away from his home in Adelebsen.

Wilhelm's diary has the most peculiar provenance of this group, since it was found in a flea market sometime before 2004 and accessioned into the DTA. He kept this diary from September 1, 1838 until June 19, 1839 (age 15 to 16), although, like Anna Krahmer, he indicated that this was not his first attempt. Totaling about 35,000 words, the diary filled half of a fine notebook with gilt edges. Wilhelm titled it *Pages from my Life*, numbered the pages, and wrote headings for himself. After opening with some religious epigraphs in German and Latin, he wrote fairly long entries about his school activities and his own philosophical reflections. In Wilhelm's case, as well as the example of Emil Schneider (below), seemingly academic subject matter was discussed in an unpolished style quite different from the formal school essays these youths might have composed on similar subjects. Diary-writing was thus a distinct genre with a distinct purpose.

This year of diary writing presented a young person in continual turmoil about his own development and moral questions. Perhaps, then, it is not a surprise that Wilhelm

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[46] Their mothers were sisters.

[47] Most biographical details on Anna Krahmer are drawn from the record at the DTA.

became a relatively well-known Lutheran theologian (with a presence in British and American religious circles). In 1847 he joined the theological faculty at Göttingen and in 1860 took a position at Rostock. He co-edited a periodical for some years, conducted historical research on the Reformation, and engaged in minor doctrinal controversies. He never married, and died in Rostock on September 12, 1894.

Figure 25. Later life photograph of Wilhelm Dieckhoff
Source: Kulturerbe Niedersachsen.[48]

Anna Hasenfratz

[48] Photograph by Arno Stanke, before 1894, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Kulturerbe Niedersachsen, http://kulturerbe.niedersachsen.de/viewer/piresolver?id=isil_DE-7_dieckhoff_m1_1.

Figure 26. Portrait of Anna Hasenfratz (unknown artist)
Source: Deutsches Tagebucharchiv.

Anna Hasenfratz was born to a bourgeois Catholic family on November 4, 1823 in Donaueschingen, a town in the Black Forest. Her father was an official at the court of the Prince of Fürstenberg (a principality which was dissolved in 1806 in the Confederation of the Rhine). Anna thus grew up around, but not part of the nobility. Her brother Fridolin, two years older, was a student at the University of Heidelberg during the years she kept this diary, and she often wrote about him and his social circle.

The diary was written between January 1, 1841 and November 24, 1843 (when Anna was 17 to 20 years old).[49] Unlike most of the writers in this set of diaries, Anna often recorded the time of day she was writing, with several separate entries per day in some instances. Like Anna Krahmer, Anna H. wrote about her daily affairs as well as her romantic longings. Her style was clearly influenced by her novel reading, with more interrogatives and apostrophic remarks that make the diary more literary.

[49] In this case, the transcription available at the DTA was fairly minimal, so the only indication of practice (errors, self-correction, and so on) belong to the content itself.

At age 24, Anna married a man 18 years her senior, Dr. Fidelis Würth (1805-1903). They moved for her husband's career and had two daughters. Anna died in Freiburg on June 23, 1881.

Luise Vorwerk

Figure 27. Engraving by Noël Paymal Lerebours, "The Tuileries Gardens of Paris" (1842) (the year of Luise Vorwerk's visit)[50]
Source: The Art of the Photogravure.

Henriette Luise Vorwerk was born to a Protestant family on August 26, 1830 in Hamburg. Her mother was Christiane De Voss (1809-1885). Her father, Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Vorwerk (1793-1867) was a merchant who had founded the successful firm Hochgreve & Vorwerk in 1823. Luise was the second of 10 children who lived to adulthood; her nearest siblings were a brother two years older and a sister four years younger.[51]

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[50] "Jardin des Tuileries à Paris," *Excursions Daguerriennes* (1842), The Art of the Photogravure, accessed July 16, 2015, http://www.photogravure.com/collection/searchResults.php?page=22&period=early19th&view=medium&file=ExcursionsDaguerriennes_15.

[51] Some biographical details from the metadata at the DTA. See also Hans Joachim Schröder, *Die Brüder Augustus Friedrich und Gustav Adolph Vorwerk: Zwei Hamburger Kaufleute* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung, 2007).

Written at age 12, Luise's journal provides an example of the travel diary genre. Unlike the aristocratic efforts of Friedrich Eugen of Württemberg and Maximilian zu Lynar mentioned above, Luise's diary was written in the literate but "natural" style desired of middle-class children. It chronicled a seven-week trip (April 20 to June 4, 1842) which she took with her parents and governess from Hamburg to Paris and back, traveling by coach, rail, and steamboat. The family stayed in Paris for 16 days, visiting cultural sites on an itinerary not entirely different from what tourists might seek out in Paris today. Luise wrote fairly long entries for each day, recording their activities and her own observations. This example underscores how writing was used as an essential tool of the educated traveler.

On November 12, 1850, Luise married the Hamburg politician (and later mayor) Hermann Anthony Cornelius Weber (1822-1886). In the 1860s, the couple had a mansion built outside Hamburg, near other notable Weber relatives.[52] Luise died at the age of 75 on February 5, 1806.

Emil Schneider

Emil Robert Schneider was born in Berlin on October 11, 1828 to a Protestant family. His father was Martin Gottlieb Schneider (1791-1858) and mother was Ida Rudorff (1804-1862).[53] Emil wrote this diary while he was living at home and subject to his parents' immediate authority and instruction.[54]

Still, at age 17 to 18 he was clearly on the cusp of adulthood during its writing (April 14, 1846 to August 30, 1847). Although some diaries open in media res, Emil Schneider also began his 1846 notebook with a very intentional statement of his purpose:

> Deep peace comes into my heart when I seek and find a support for my instability in the Bible, in the solace of the holy word of God. Every other

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[52] Paul Hoffmann, *Die Elbchaussee, ihre Landsitze, Menschen, und Schicksale* (Hamburg: Broschek, 1937), 85.
[53] Emil Robert Schneider, "Deutschland Geburten und Taufen, 1558-1898," *FamilySearch,* accessed May 26, 2015, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NP2Q-K2N.
[54] This DTA transcription includes indications of Emil's additions and self-corrections.

> feeling of earthly joy and bliss is a void compared with that of feeling like the child of a loving father, of a gentle judge of our deepest fault![55]

By invoking Bible reading and the Word as part of his commitment to the diary, Emil highlighted a religious use of literacy at the outset of his writing. The rest of the diary proceeded as an account of his daily activities, relationships, and observations about reading. More than the other young writers in this group, Emil commented occasionally on contemporary political events.

In adulthood, Emil became a businessman. At some point, his son or daughter added an note to the front matter of this diary, to record that Emil continued diligently to keep a daily journal throughout his life. However, this is the only volume which reached the archive. Emil died at age 67 in 1895.

Diaries: typical characteristics

> "While everyone sleeps and I know that everything is quiet, I prefer to tend to my thoughts and memories."[56]
>
> – Anna Hasenfratz, January 19, 1841 (9:30 PM)

While diverse in geography (cities and small towns in Baden, Württemberg, Hamburg, Saxony, and Prussia), age (from 10 to 20 years old), gender, and schooling experiences, these six writers all came from families embedded in the Bildungsbürgertum. They also kept their diaries (between 1830 and 1847) during an era of Biedermeier sentimentality that emphasized interiority and the domestic for middle-class children and youth. This section draws out some common features and themes from this group of diaries.

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[55] "Tiefe Ruhe kommt in mein Herz wenn ich in der Bibel, im heiligen Worte Gottes Trost, für mein Schwanken eine Stütze suche und finde. Jedes andere Gefühl der irdischen Freude und Glückseligkeit ist nichtig gegen dieses sich als Kind eines liebvollen Vaters, eines milden Richters unserer tiefen Schuld fühlen!" Emil Schneider, 14 April 1846.

[56] "Während Alles schläft und ich Alles in Ruhe weiß, pflege ich am liebsten meinen Gedanken und Erinnerungen." Anna Hasenfratz, 19 January 1841.

Looking across these diaries, certain common surface characteristics emerge. Unlike Wilhelm's example, most young people's diaries were intended for daily journaling. The set of diaries I have examined range from Marie Seybold's occasional entries of only one sentence to Anna Krahmer's frequent entries of many pages. Dating the entries, however, was a universal feature. Each writer did a certain amount of self-correction and later editing, but the degree varied. Marie, for example, occasionally lined out entire entries, but usually not in such an aggressive way as to obliterate what was previously written. She almost always rewrote the offending passage, usually with fairly similar content—that is, the excision was done for reasons of mechanics or cosmetics rather than a reversal of opinion or self-censorship. As with letters, there is a noticeable difference in sophistication of the handwriting style along the age spectrum of diarists. Although these writers followed many conventions shared by adult diarists, the material appearance and organization of children and youth's diaries marked them as a distinct genre.

Famous adult diarists often have become so through their commentary on politics and world events.[57] But ordinary young writers seem to have perceived a narrower purpose for their diaries: to record daily events and memories (including the weather, school progress, travel, and holidays) and to comment on social relationships (especially family and visitors at home). As one twelve-year-old wrote in 1856, his purpose in writing a diary was to remember not only "the life and doings of this time, [but] especially *mine*"(emphasis original). These particular ordinary memories were preserved because they preceded works

[57] Think here, for example, of Samuel Pepys. And indeed, some of the diaries I have examined also include elements of this kind of commentary, as with Emil's comments in 1847 on planning for the Prussian Landtag. Schneider, 11 April 1847; Krahmer, 7 January 1831. But these moments were exceptions rather than typical of young diarists' preoccupations.

such as *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* by the same writer (Friedrich Nietzsche).[58] But his notation of quotidian experiences in these early years is not unlike the everyday themes that the obscure diarists I have studied address. As an inherently selective record, a diary marks some experiences as significant and ignores others. For these writers, their diaries were mostly filled with what Laurel Thatcher Ulrich calls "the exhaustive, repetitious dailiness" of their lives.[59] An often revisited list of topics facilitated the writing of young diarists.

Indeed, it was through this "ordinariness," I argue, that children and youth forged socially situated selves while at the same time serving the pedagogic purpose of diary writing. Narrating everyday events was a key path to developing this kind of subjectivity, unlike a more romantic notion of the individual self that could be located in an inner spirit or psyche. Recording the day's activities, weather, and schoolwork reliably gave ten-year-old Marie Seybold something to write about without having to rely on invention, and also allowed her to use a set of familiar phrases from entry to entry. Even so, she still sometimes resorted to comments like April 23's summary, "Today nothing happened which was remarkable."[60] When she was briefly ill and had to stay in bed, far from giving her time to write her intimate thoughts and feelings, the inactivity left her without motivation to write much at all on those days. Ubiquitous discussions of the weather remind us how much the natural world structured even these cultivated Enlightened lives. The events of the day were a starting point for each of these diarists, so that Wilhelm often commented on his work and interactions at school and Anna K. seems to have played quite a lot of cards. For some young writers, recording what occupied their days meant writing travel narratives, as with

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[58] "Endlich ist mein Entschluß gefaßt, ein Tagebuch zu schreiben, in welchem man alles, was freudig oder auch traurig das Herz bewegt, dem Gedächtnis überliefert, um sich nach Jahren noch an Leben und Treiben dieser Zeit und besonders *meiner* zu erinnern." Friedrich Nietzsche, 26 December 1856, quoted in Rüdiger Görner, *Das Tagebuch* (1986).

[59] Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale* (1990), 9.

[60] "Heute fiel nichts bemerk~~ungs~~ welches war." Marie Seybold, 23 April 1830.

Luise's journal. Even in this case, where young writers clearly imitated and referenced adult genres like published travel narratives or tourist guides, they understood their diaries as a space open to expressing their own tastes and feelings. For example, Luise chronicled her trip to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, noting: "I liked the giraffe the most! In fact, a beautiful animal! The figure so slender, the marking[s] so evenly yellow with brown patches, becoming paler on the belly."[61] Giraffes may not have populated every German child's diary in the early nineteenth century, but travel did impact most writers, at the least in terms of writing observations about household visitors.

Diaries were also used to observe and record social relationships and to position the writers themselves within those social networks. Unsurprisingly, young people's diaries, situated as they were primarily in a domestic context, are filled with stories and observations about family and other members of the household. But friends outside the family also appear in the pages of diaries, especially when describing visitors as part of the day's events. Mina, Luise, and Julie were friends of Marie Seybold who appeared frequently as characters in her diary descriptions of garden walks and birthday celebrations; she only occasionally mentions visits from these girls' parents or older siblings who were at the house to spend time with the rest of her family. Diaries make it clear how middle-class children and youth in the nineteenth century increasingly relied on writing as a tool in the development of their social relationships, as when Anna H. noted in her diary that she had made a gift of a few lines and her signature as a souvenir for a friend's autograph book.[62]

Ordinary events were not the only topic addressed by young writers, however. The final most common theme across these diaries was explicit reflection on personal

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[61] "Am meisten gefiel mir eine Giraffe! In der That, ein schönes Thier! Der Wuchs so schlank, die Zeichnung so regelmässig gelb mit braunen Flecken, nach dem Bauche zu blässer werdend." Vorwerk.
[62] "Vorher that ich dasselbe by Rees, der als Andenken von mir meine Unterschrift verlangte. Ich will fuhr ihm in dem ich in Rückert, den wir ihm als Geschenk gaben, einige Zeilen schrieb." Hasenfratz, 13 June 1841.

development. In one passage, Wilhelm Dieckhoff captured both the disciplinary element of diary writing and the diary as vessel for self-reflection and self-formation:

> I have already started a few times to record what I thought and experienced each day. But although I persevered with it a whole year the first time, I still consistently let it lie fallow. This was for the reason that I recorded every little thing which I encountered with anxious exactitude, and since life at this time is a stable monotony, very uniform and with few interruptions, it soon became petty and uninteresting....Therefore I have given up on my diary in order to continue it under the form: *Pages from My Life*. This way I am less tied to the everyday, and I can also concern myself more with my thoughts. I hope that this plan will not be changed again.[63]

In addition to outlining the virtues of diary keeping, Wilhelm underlined the impermanence and irregularity of diaries through his determination to improve upon his earlier forays. This employment of diaries for self-examination and self-crafting by young writers is my primary concern in the following two sections of the chapter.

[63] "Schon einige Male fing ich an, jeden Tag aufzuzeichnen, was ich dachte und erfuhr. Doch obschon ich das erste Mal ein ganzes Jahr damit ausdauerte, so ließ ich [es] doch immer wieder liegen. Dies hatte seinen Grund darin, daß ich mit angstlicher Genauigkeit, jede Kleinigkeit auzeichnete, die mir begegnete, und da das Leben in dieser Zeit sehr einförmig und mit wenigen Unterbrechungen ein stetes Einerlei ist, so wurde es bald läppisch und unintereßant. Deßhalb gab ich auch mein Tagebuch auf, um es unter der Form: Blätter aus meinem Leben fortzusetzen. Ich bin dabei weniger an das Alltägliche gebunden, und kann mich mehr auch mit meinen Gedanken beschäftigen. Ich hoffe, daß dieser Plan nicht wieder geändert werden wird." Dieckhoff, September 1838.

Diary as Self-Surveillance

Continual scrutiny of habits, relationships, and interior feelings was the primary means through which young people engaged selfhood in their diaries. As a form, the diary presents intriguing contradictions, producing texts that are both spontaneous and quotidian and yet also crafted and edited. For these writers, diaries also constituted a disciplinary practice, one regularly performed and marked over time, with consideration for possible readers, tracking individual diligence and interrogating an interior self. Sánchez-Eppler writes of the particular inflections this takes in the hands of young writers, arguing that "the act of writing remains self-conscious for children...[making] the expectations and significance attached to literacy visible in ways that they would never be in more practiced hands."[64] The self-awareness of a diary became self-surveillance as writers monitored their time, considered other readers, evaluated their own industry, and examined their emotions.

Time

Time was a key dimension for self-examination through diary keeping.[65] Christian Felix Weiße named this one of the key virtues of diary keeping for children, that they would learn to divide their time in an orderly fashion.[66] When Wilhelm copied his school schedule into his diary, accounting for each portion of his day, he joined many other diary writers who sought to control time through writing.[67] Time especially mattered for self-surveillance in young people's diaries because writers could observe changes in themselves with the passage

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[64] Sánchez-Eppler, 21.

[65] As the editors of *Controlling Time, Shaping the Self* (2011) write, diaries were a way of "writing to get a grip on time." Baggerman, Dekker, and Mascuch, 5.

[66] "Ein anderer Vorbei ist, daß sie Ordnung in Einteilung ihrer Zeit lernen: am Abend oder den morgen darauf sehen können, wie weit sie im guten fort, oder zurück gegangen sind, um wie viel ihre Erkenntnis vermehret worden, und wovor sie sich künftig zu hüten haben." Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund* I, no. 1 (1778 reprint p. 33).

[67] Dieckhoff, December 1838.

of weeks or years and reflect on their own development. Anna Hasenfratz articulated this use of her diary on a gloomy day, writing,

> I am once again alone in my room, much as I wish it, and just as I could be a few weeks ago, only I have changed quite a lot since a few days ago. I am sad and dispirited, because the image of Max is constantly swimming before my eyes.[68]

The impulse to control and monitor time also reveals an awareness of potential current or future readers on the part of young writers. For example, Marie Seybold started her diary practice by providing only the month and date for each entry. A few months in, she occasionally began to include the day of the week narratively, as with her passage for May 2, which began, "This day, which is a Sunday,..."[69]; eventually, she incorporated the day as regular feature in the left margin of each entry. This change marked not only deference to form but also Marie's growing awareness of the diary as a record of her self for a future audience (or perhaps for her own rereading), in which that kind of meta data might be useful or important.

Readers

Although none of these diaries was written for publication, that does not necessarily mean that they were written without an audience in mind. It is worth remembering Lynn Bloom's caution, "when such readers lurk at the writer's elbow, welcome or not, there is no way to rule out self-censorship."[70] Unlike diarists of a later era, these writers did not build obvious dialogic relationships with their diaries.[71] That said, audience was certainly an important factor for the self-making work in each diary, ranging from the diarists themselves

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[68] "Ich bin wieder einmal allein auf meinem Zimmer, so ganz wie ich es wünsche und wie ich es vor einigen Wochen noch sein konnte, allein ich habe mich seit einigen Tagen ziemlich geändert. Ich bin traurig und niedergeschlagen, denn stets schwebt mir das Bild von Max vor meinen Augen." Hasenfratz, 24 January 1841.
[69] "Diesen Tag welches ein Sonntag ist..." Seybold, 2 May 1830.
[70] Bloom, "'I Write for Myself,'" 24.
[71] That is, these texts did not address the "dear diary" of the twentieth century. On the vocative address to a diary, see Lejeune, 100.

to adult teachers or parents to posterity. Wilhelm, whose diary eventually reached a flea market, clearly had a sense of unknown future readers, evident in the very deliberate framing and self-editing of his journal. Although Anna K. often used her diary as a repository for intimate confessions, her writing at certain moments also indicated some awareness of a potential audience—for example, in her formal presentation of the events surrounding her confirmation at the end of March in 1831. But age generally seems to be a dividing line: while the older diarists appear to have written primarily for themselves,[72] the younger writers like Luise Vorwerk and Marie Seybold clearly expected an immediate audience for their diaries in the form of tutor or parent readers. Luise's case illustrates a common practice in which elite children traveling with their families were expected to record their experiences and observations as a pedagogic exercise. For example, Luise wrote of Versailles, "I leave it to the writers to describe it all, it is too great a task; I will only mention the most remarkable things."[73] Her awareness of readers are evident here, as is her self-positioning within a genre.

In the case of Marie, her diary presents a great deal of evidence of adult reading and instruction. Some of her own self-editing may have been added later at the urging of her tutor. Occasional checks, question marks, and marginalia also indicate another reader. Just as in the nineteenth-century writing manuals which Meredith McGill has analyzed, the evidence of adult instruction in Marie's diary is focused on her observations rather than her (often sloppy) handwriting.[74] Though these comments were occasionally affirming, such as a

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[72] This runs contrary to the model expected from other examples such as Otto van Eck's heavily supervised diary discussed in Baggerman and Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment* (2009).

[73] "Es ganz zu beschreiben, überlasse ich den Schriftstellern, es ist eine zu grosse Arbeit; nur das Merkwürdigste werde ich anführen." Vorwerk, 16 May, 1842.

[74] McGill observes that moving from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, these pedagogues "worry less about a child's ability to control his hand, and more about the fact that he might exercise faulty judgment or become the victim of a false impression." Meredith McGill, "The Duplicity of the Pen," in *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass, and Nancy Vickers (New York: Routledge, 1997), 47.

"good!" on the May 6, 1830 entry, most additions were critical, as in the instruction to write about more than than the weather discussed in Chapter 1.

Sometimes the self-surveillance of diaries was performed explicitly for someone else's benefit. This pedagogic reality for young writers is reinforced by the audience-driven subject formation inherent to modern selfhood. As Habermas writes, "Subjectivity, as the innermost core of the private, was always already oriented to an audience."[75] The mix of immediate self-correction, later editing, and external critiques in Marie's diary indicates how the text was used by Marie and the adults around her to scrutinize her development and thoughts. It is striking that Lynn Bloom suggests that this kind of awareness of audience reflects how "the sophisticated diarist facilitates the work's ultimate focus," rather than imagining diarists like these young German writers.[76] But it does in fact require highly sophisticated positioning to write for and about oneself, and at the same time hold an awareness of external readers. What does that mean for someone like Marie when she writes "Today I was diligent," anticipating an adult to read and respond to her self-reporting?

And at times that external reader was the diarist's future self, since diary keeping preserved the writer's memories for later use. Anna Krahmer wrote smugly at age 16,

> This morning I read my whole diary and found to my pleasure that 3 years ago I thought about certain affairs just as I do now. It is my greatest delight when I see that my feelings and opinions have not been altered, or at least not degraded, by time. I would like to be firm and unchangeable down to the smallest [matter].[77]

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[75] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991 [orig. 1962]), 49.
[76] Bloom, 23.
[77] "Heute Morgen las ich mein ganzes Tagebuch und fand zu meiner Freude, daß ich vor 3 Jahren schon ebenso dachte über gewisse Verhältnisse als jetzt. Es ist meine größte Wonne, wenn ich sehe, daß meine Gefühle und Urtheile nicht von der Zeit verändert, oder wenigstens nicht verschlechtert werden. Ich möchte bis ins kleinste fest und unwandelbar sein! Morgen kommen Honigs für ein Stündchen zum Kaffee. Diesen Nachmittag hatten wir mit Mutter ein gemüthliches Heirathsgespräch. Sie hat für mich und für Rose einen Wünschenswerthen, sagt ihn aber nicht. Sie baten mich, nicht zu bald zu heirathen, glauben aber, ich werde es thun." Krahmer, 3 October 1831.

It is no coincidence that Anna continued seamlessly from this reflection on her past into reporting a conversation with her mother about her future (Anna's parents did not want her to marry too quickly). From the perspective of adults, diaries have often been understood to offer a record of development in an individual over time—especially in young people. But I suspect that Anna was not alone among children and youth in holding a different view of her own growth while still in those early years, perceiving more consistency than change. Whether or not Anna's perception fully reflected the evolution she likely experienced over those years, it is striking that she used her own writing in this diary to make these observations about her own sense of self.

Industry

The key category by which young writers evaluated themselves in diaries was that omnipresent goal of middle-class youth: diligence. The importance of being regarded and regarding oneself as "*fleißig*," rather than lazy or idle, cannot be overstated. Diaries offered a mechanism for children and youth to track their intellectual development, filial duties, schoolwork, reading, and moral or spiritual self-improvement. In Marie's short entries, her regular observations on her own industriousness often constituted an entire day's record. Interestingly, these comments usually appeared only in the positive—"Today I was diligent"—rather than reports of days when she or someone else found her work lacking.[78] One intriguing but mysterious variation came on May 26, when she observed, "Nothing else happened that deserved to be remarked upon, other than that I have been diligent."[79] In a different hand, the last line, "that I have been diligent," was later underlined and an exclamation point added at the end. Was the reader contradicting Marie's self-assessment? Or

[78] Note that this is a different quality than Otto van Eck's self-castigation. In *Child of the Enlightenment* Baggerman and Dekker read that as performed self-criticism for the benefit of his parents. Where Marie seemed to evaluate herself for adult readers, she generally gave herself pretty high marks.
[79] "Sonst fiel nichts vor das verdiente bemerkt zu werden, außer das, dass ich fleißig gewesen bin." Seybold, 26 May 1830.

confirming and commending her hard work? Without discovering any other clues, it is still worth observing that both Marie and the adult reader of her diary understood her writing as means to engage in this kind of self-review, and that industry and idleness were the key axis.

Some writers engaged in surveillance of their own industry through their diaries by commenting on other literacy practices and tracking their reading. Books sometimes make only a casual appearance in diaries, as when Marie mentioned in passing that she had returned a book she borrowed from a friend.[80] Literacy was part of Luise's educational tourism, as in this report "We visited the very elaborate royal library, which in addition contains a large number of manuscripts and facsimiles. Thus I read, for example, a letter from Voltaire to Friedrich the Great."[81] But other writers used their diaries to make more extensive commentary on their reading.[82] For Wilhelm, books were crucial. In fact the very first thing he chose to write about in his very intentionally designed new diary was his reading. announcing, "Today I read parts of a book with the title *Spirit of Friedrich the Great's Best Writings*." This was only the first of many miniature book reviews which filled the pages of his notebook.[83] And Emil frequently mentioned his reading and offered his opinions of books in his diary, writing explicitly about the development of his own taste and moral improvement through reading. For example, he observed at one point, "I am now reading: *The Rose of Tistelön* by Flygare-Carlén, a highly appealing, but dreadful novel. I am pleased with the occupation which it gives my mind." In these mini book reviews, he made a point

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[80] "Ich gab Luise Göhring ihr Buch wieder." Marie Seybold, 6 July 1830.
[81] "wir besuchten die sehr reichhaltige, königliche Bibliothek, die nebenbei eine grosse Anzahl von Manuscripten und Facsimile enthält. So las ich z.B. einen Brief von Voltaire an Friedrich den Grossen." Vorwerk, 17 May 1842.
[82] My corpus is too small to draw overly stark conclusions, but this set of diaries does feature a gendered pattern of reading: Emil & Wilhelm used their diaries to comment on a wide range of books, including religion and philosophy; while their peers Anna K. and Anna H. only mentioned a few novels by name.
[83] "Ich las heute in einem Buche mit dem Titel, Geist aus Friedrich's des Gr. besten Schriften." Dieckhoff, 1 September 1838.

of not only describing his reading but also evaluating the ongoing impact on his knowledge and, crucially, his character.[84]

Observing one's industry through writing was also tied to diary as a disciplinary and disciplining practice. Of these writers, Wilhelm wrote most frequently about his anxieties in satisfying and failing his ambitious for regular journaling. For example, a couple of months after restarting his diary, he castigated himself, "I have once again neglected to continue my diary for two days. It absolutely must change."[85] The entry then immediately launched into a review of the Goethe which he was reading and his assessment of the characters' virtues, a performance of literary industry which seems to have been an attempt to atone for his own self-perceived failings. Even though Wilhelm was the writer who decided intentionally at one point to eschew daily entries, it continued to be a common pattern that he would fall away from regular practice and then admonish himself for this "laziness" in an industrious burst of new pages.

But Wilhelm also expressed what seems at first glance like a fairly radical rejection of schoolwork, writing after a break:

> My [school] report turned out just to my satisfaction. But even without it I know that I have not been as diligent as [I was] earlier. But that does not matter! I had my reasons for it. Health comes before scholarship. The spirit demands more than intellect. I do not regret my many walks. I look back on the past semester with satisfaction.

Wilhelm continued reflecting on the list of activities outside of study which he gladly remembered from previous months. He concluded the entry,

> And so I want to and also I will be diligent next winter; but it will be a free, independent occupation that leads me ever nearer to my goals, which

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[84] "Ich lese jetzt: *die Rose von Tistelön,* von der Tygger-Carlèn, ein höchst anziehender, aber gräßlicher Roman. ich freue mich über die Beschäftigung, die er meinem Geiste giebt." Schneider, 18 December 1846. Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807-1892) was a Swedish novelist who wrote on nautical and domestic themes. Her 1842 work *Rosen på Tistelön* was translated into German as *Die Rose von Tistelön: Erzählung aus den Scheeren* in 1843.

[85] "Nun habe ich schon wieder zwei Tage es versäumt, mein Tagebuch fortzusetzen. Es muß durchaus anders werden. Am Sonnabend Abend las ich in Goethe den Egmont." Dieckhoff, 27 November 1838.

> consists in nothing else than to cultivate myself into an outwardly and inwardly complete man and to return my spirit ever closer to the purity in which it was [given] to me from God. And everything Latin, Greek, and however it may all be called, I regard only as a means for this purpose, which each person must pursue, and as such I must and I want to chase it; and therefore I might also study the irregular verbs some time.[86]

This determined attitude matched Wilhelm's use of his diary as a practice for which he continually reinvented great plans and then disappointed himself by failing to write as regularly or deeply as he intended. Rather than giving up on scholarship, Wilhelm actually expressed a loftier ambition for himself beyond the socially dictated purposes of schoolwork —though it appears that perfect development did require some conjugating along the way. Diaries allowed young writers to track their industry in a range of activities expected of them as dutiful, literate, middle-class youth.

Examining emotions

Keeping a diary provided some of these writers the opportunity to report and interrogate their emotions, a particular form of self-surveillance. As much as these feelings were often recorded on paper as being "unbeschreiblich" (indescribable, unwritable), some diaries nevertheless prompted a confessional mode in which emotions where indeed written, and then named, analyzed, rejected, deplored, or celebrated.[87] In his discussion of the new interiority of diary keeping in the nineteenth century, Peter Gay writes, "The classic age for

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[86] "Mein Zeuchniß fiel ganz zu meiner Zufriedenheit aus. Ich weiß es aber ohne dasselbe, daß ich nicht ganz so fleißig gewesen bin, wie früher. Aber das schadet nichts! Ich hatte meine Gründe dazu. Gesundheit geht über Gelehrsamkeit. Der Geist verlangt mehr als der Verstand. Ich bereue meine vielen Spaziergänge nicht. Ich blicke mit Zufriedenheit auf das verflossene Semester zurück....Und so will und werde ich auch nächsten Winter fleißig sein; aber es wird eine freie, selbstständige Thätigkeit sein, die mich meinem Ziele immer näher führt, das in nichts anderem besteht, als mich zu einem äußeren u. inneren vollkommenen Menschen zu bilden und meinen Geist immer mehr zu der Reinheit zurückzuführen, in der er mir von Gott ward. Und alles Lateinische Griechische und wie es alle heißen mag sehe ich nur als ein Mittel für diesen Zweck an, den ein jeder Mensch verfolgen muß, und insofern muß und will ich es treiben; und darum lerne ich auch vielleicht einmal die unregelmäßigen Verben." Dieckhoff, 28 September 1838.

[87] From the rapidly expanding intersection of childhood history and the history of emotions, see Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley, eds., *Childhood and Emotion Across Cultures 1450-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Stephanie Olson, *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

launching one, apart from the childish jottings of seven- or eight-year-olds following parents' prompting, was early adolescence...there was something about the awakening and turmoil of puberty most congenial to engaging in literally self-serving self-examination."[88] However, I argue that Gay makes too sharp a division between a true, private confession of feelings and pedagogic exercises, since this notion of the diary as vessel for emotions was clearly related to a didactic impulse.

Sometimes these feelings themselves derived from the diary practice. For example, at another time when Wilhelm felt he had neglected his diary, he wrote

> So, genuinely nothing written in the diary in eight days, and I have resolved to put down at least something each day, as much as possible. This is in fact not a good sign, when one's diary goes so neglected. Let us harken to the causes. In the first days it was plainly laziness. These were once again odious days in which I put even my endeavors out of sight. Yes, unfortunately, this sad dreariness controls me all too often.[89]

Here, after inviting explicit self-examination, he tied writing (or its absence) not only to hard work, but also to his internal turmoil or feelings of failure. In this case, writing not only recorded the evolutions of self, but actually actively developed it (in echoes of Burke's paradigm of self as both garden and gardener). This question of self-construction through writing the emotions will be addressed more fully in the following section on self-formation.

What is most interesting about surveillance of feeling is how these young writers used their diaries to reflect on their own emotional reactions and emotional logic. Anna H., the diarist who preferred to write at night when the house was quiet, also preserved some entries in her diary which were interrupted mid-stream by some distraction, indicating her

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[88] Peter Gay, *The Naked Heart: The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995) 331.

[89] "Also wirklich in acht Tagen Nichts in's Tagebuch geschrieben, und ich habe mir doch vorgenommen, so viel wie möglich jeden Tag wenigstens Etwas aufzuschreiben. Das ist eigentlich kein gutes Zeichen, wenn man das Tageb. so vernachlässigt. Laßt uns doch den Ursachen nachlauschen. In den ersten Tagen war es offenbar Faulheit. Das waren wieder eklige Tage, an denen ich auch mein Bestreben aus den Augen setzte. Ja leider nur zu oft herrscht diese traurige Öde in mir." Dieckhoff, 7 November 1838.

other activities and preoccupations. For example, on the afternoon of February 1, 1841, she wrote a few sentences about her low spirits, then followed a break with:

> A few minutes later.
> In the moment as I wrote the desperate lines above, Sch. came to me with a joyful look on [her] face and announced to me that von Schweighardt was below in order to make a parting visit. Beside myself with joy, I ran down...[90]

Ultimately, however, this glimpse of the object of her affections only lifted her mood a little, and so she returned to her diary after the encounter to describe her feelings in writing. At another time, after a blissful evening spent dancing with the current object of her affection, Anna came back to her diary with these questions:

> What presses my heart so heavily? By what is it so violently agitated? The first ball, what effects did it bring?...Oh, if [only] it were true what he so clearly gives me to understand through words and gestures?....O God, if I may ask for a husband, then give me this one, because my love which I bear for him is indescribable.[91]

The questions are a rhetorical technique, to be sure, but she also was using this writing to try to understand her own feelings better, articulating her desires for herself. A few days later, she encountered the young man again and wrote more despondently,

> I trembled as he looked at me and called all that passed back into my memory. But yesterday he also seemed still to think of me, because he again engaged me immediately for the first Polonaise and the first waltz, as if he already knew how happy that would make me....But how [much] do I enjoy just taking pains to write down such memories, which only make my heart

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[90] "Einige Minuten später. In dem Augenblicke, als ich obige verzweifelnde Zeilen schrieb, kam Sch. mit freudigem Gesichte zu mir und zeigte mir an, daß von Schweighardt unten seye um Abschiedsbesuch zu machen. Außer mir vor Freude rannte ich hinunter um wenigstens doch noch das Glück zu haben, vielleicht zum letzten Mal in sein schönes Gesicht schauen zu können...." Hasenfratz, 1 February 1841.
[91] "Was drückt mein Herz so zentnerschwer? Von was ist es so heftig agitiert? Der erste Ball, was brachte er für Wirkungen?...O wenn es wahr wäre was er mir durch Worte und Geberden so deutlich zu verstehen gibt?....O Gott, wenn ich für einen Mann bitten darf, so gieb mir diesen, denn meine Liebe die ich zu ihm hege ist unbeschreiblich." Hasenfratz, 29 January 1841.

> bleed? Soon he will have again forgotten me and dance with another, while my heart still beats for him.[92]

Her voice here seems rather familiar to anyone who has struggled with romantic longing and feelings of rejection or loneliness, especially as a young person. We can see from Anna's writing that she was struggling to confront and master her emotions. In the midst of this passionate expression, however, she interrupted herself to question the purpose of the very act of diary writing.

Like Anna H., Wilhelm and Anna K. seemed to need writing as a mechanism for examining their own feelings. Wilhelm wondered why he felt compelled to minimize the joy he experienced in received attention on his birthday. "My heart so much wants love," he answered. But he could not leave that observation alone without also noting the "gloomy" thought of what he perceived as his still inadequate intellectual development.[93] Another form of this emotional self-examination comes from the closing of a long entry by Anna K.:

> So I extinguished the light, and went to bed and did not sleep. I burst into tears and do not know why. The human heart is a strange thing, and not to be fathomed. I was dissatisfied with myself, and yet determined to remain so.[94]

Again, we should attend not only to Anna K.'s writing of her emotions, but her use of that writing as a point of self-examination. These mysterious emotions about which young

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[92] "Ich zitterte bei seinem Anblick und rief mir Alles vergangene wieder ins Gedächtnis zurück....Er schien gestern aber auch noch an mich zu denken, denn er engagierte mich sogleich wieder auf die erste Polonaise und den ersten Walzer, wie wenn er schon gewußt hätte, wie glücklich mich das machte....Doch wie mag ich mir nur noch die Mühe geben, solche Erinnerungen aufzuschreiben, die mir nur das Herz bluten machen? Bald wird er mich wieder vergessen haben und einer anderen die Cour machen, während mein Herz noch für ihn schlägt." Hasenfratz, 1 February 1841.

[93] "Warum sollte ich es verschweigen, daß mir Ahrend eine schöne Freude bereitete, indem sie heute einige Aufmerksamkeit für mich zeigten. Mühle hat Recht, indem er sagt, es sei unnötig, und wahrhaftig ich verärge es keinen, wenn er auf Formalitäten keine Rücksicht nimmt, denn für die bin ich wahrhaftig auch nicht; aber mit einiger Freude bemerkte ich, wie öfters in dieser Zeit, daß ich doch ihnen nicht ganz gleichgültig sei. Mein Herz will so gerne liebe.– Aber einen andern trüben Gedanken konnte ich nicht von mir abweisen. Ich habe nämlich schon seit einiger Zeit bemerkt, wie einseitig meine Bildung eigentlich noch sei." Dieckhoff, 5 February 1839.

[94] "Damit löschte ich das Licht aus, und legte mich zu Bette und schlief nicht. Ich zerfloß in Thränen und weiß nicht warum. Das Menschenherz ist ein sonderbar Ding, und nicht zu ergründen. Ich war unzufrieden mit mir, und doch entschlossen, so zu bleiben." Krahmer, 25 September 1831.

diarists wrote were not all feelings of despair or self-criticism, however. One morning, Anna K. tried to capture the sensation of waking up happy without knowing why:

> Today upon awakening I had that beautiful feeling again, that I had a gladness in my mind which I could not quite remember. Finally the thought came that the Honigs would come today, like a spark in the tinder of joy, which glows in the heart. The flame of joy blazed brightly in me, and it rose up unhindered.[95]

Her joy that day, euphorically described, resulted from the anticipated arrival of her cousins (including the young man she loved and would eventually marry). This moment is one of many illustrations of young writers using diaries to explore metaphors, literary borrowing, and other ways of writing about their own feelings. Emotional introspection was partly such a common feature of some diaries because it served the self-surveilling mode of writing. Self-examination is part of any diary keeping practice, to be sure. But monitoring time, anticipating readers, evaluating industry, and examining emotions all contributed to the surveillance that was an especially salient contribution to self-making through diaries for young writers in this period. The following section moves to other ways that self-formation surfaced in youth diary writing.

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[95] "Heute hatte ich beim Erwachen wieder jenes schöne Gefühl, daß ich eine Freude im Sinn hatte, die ich mir nicht gleich erinnern konnte. Endlich fiel der Gedanke, daß Honigs heute kämen, wie ein Funke in den Freudenzunder, der im Herzen glimmte. Hell auf loderte die Flamme der Wonne in mir, und ungehindert stieg sie empor." Krahmer, 28 December 1830.

Diary as Self-Formation

The distinction between "self-surveillance" and "self-formation" as descriptions of the activities in which diarists engaged may seem to exert an implicit judgment. Analyzing diaries as mechanisms of self-surveillance makes us attend to the governing aspects of writing, while looking for evidence of self-formation emphasizes the agency of children and youth. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, however, I suggest that there is an important and inextricable link between the agency and discipline of diaries as a literacy practice for young people. Of all these examples, Marie Seybold's diary exhibits the most explicit evidence of adult direction. Her writing includes little content which directly reveals some kind of tumultuous interior struggle over defining her emerging subjectivity. And yet the very fact of the diary keeping shows even Marie exerting control over time, her environment, and the way she occupied her days—by writing about it all. The existence and preservation of this diary is an implicit statement about the worth of recording her experiences, even as a little girl (and even when "[she knew] nothing to write about today").[96] I suggest that examples like this one caution us against romanticizing silent introspection as the highest form of self-making. In recording ordinary facts of daily experience, young diarists crafted selves just as they did through editing of their own writing, discussing matters of taste and opinion, reporting on relationships with others, and writing about emotions.

Editing and voice

Evidence of immediate or later editing provides explicit examples of both self-surveillance and self-formation through diaries—editing writing and editing a self. Two examples from Marie's diary demonstrate how this could go beyond simple correction of

[96] "Von Heute weis ich nichts zu schreiben als das es immer regnete." Seybold, 10 March 1830.

grammatical or spelling errors. In one case, she began a sentence "Ich habe den Nachmittag..." and then crossed that out to begin again, "Den Nachmittag habe ich schon..." She changed her initial impulse (which was not incorrect) to a slightly more sophisticated sentence structure.[97] In a second case, changing ink allows us to see more clearly that Marie returned to some entries at a later date to improve her writing. She made some corrections, but also embellished her plainer descriptions, writing that their walk was discouraged not only by wind but a *strong* wind.[98] In this kind of editing, even in small ways, and even as part of a pedagogic project, Marie asserted individuality through the development of her voice.

Another means of experimenting with voice in diary writing was through language use. As discussed throughout this dissertation, belonging to the "literacy elite" of nineteenth-century German society often entailed multilingualism. However, the diaries show the hard work this necessitated for young language learners. This could be a place to practice a language one was studying, a use Emil made of his diary frequently. For example, while he was studying English, suddenly two entries appeared in that language:

> Friday the 22the May. Yesterday in the afternoon the little Agnès Dagners died in the age of three months....Now the question is risen to me, wether such little children, who rarely begin to live have also an immortal soul....Saturday the 23the May 1846. What is the happiness of the man? wherein persists ist? [sic] in the tranquillity of his mind, in the triumph of his soul over his body.[99]

Here, his own writing was clearly influenced by the philosophy reading he was likely doing in his study of the English language. At other times, his linguistic shifts were concerned with more daily affairs, as in this sequence: "As I told to mother, what Philipp yesterday had said to me from Carl, she bade me, to say nothing of it to Henriette! Why so? I can not

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[97] Seybold, 26 February 1830.

[98] "Diesen Nachmittag war es so schön, Mutter und —— deßwegen giengen wir spazieren ~~gehen wir~~, wo wir bald wieder heimkehrt weil so ein starker Wind wehte." Seybold, 3 March 1830.

[99] As with the German quotations, this passage is presented verbatim. Schneider, 22 and 23 May 1846.

understand it!."[100] In the following entry, he wrote in German with apparent relief, "Yesterday and the day before yesterday I copied English words," which seemed to let himself off the hook for practicing English that day.[101]

The development of personal style also occurred through a form of code switching or language borrowing. Although this was deployed by writers who were not equally proficient in each language, and done in primarily German-speaking places, these instances of code-switching are related to the language shifts between social registers that linguists and sociologists study today.[102] These diarists moved between languages to demonstrate their bourgeois accomplishments and claim a place in transnational middle-class society. This could be at the level of a single word, as when Emil wrote: "Man stimmte ab und die Frage wurde mit 39 gegen 31 Stimmen verneint. u. *Dr. Rupp* muß morgen abreisen. Das erregt ungemein viel *indignation*."[103] Or diary code-switching could involve more extensive interplay between the languages: Showing off his trilingualism—albeit with some creative orthography—Emil wrote a paragraph in mixed German and English which included mention of his French reading. "Ich begleitete Gustav nach Haus, we entertained us in English. He speeks very well—I now am reading The mistaries of Paris by Eugèn Sue, in French language. It is very interessant."[104] At another instance, German syntax showed through the overlaid English vocabulary:

> Nach Tische lasen wir etwas vor, dann schlief ich wegen Kopfschmerzen ein wenig und mother father and the two little ones went to the zoological

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[100] Schneider, 15 June 1846.
[101] "Gestern und vorgestern schrieb ich englische Vokabeln ab..." Schneider, 18 June 1846.
[102] For research on code-switching in the present day, see Ludmila Isurin, Donald Winford, Kees de Bot, eds., *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Code Switching* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009); Penelope Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Miles Turnbull and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain, *First Language Use in Second and Foreign Language Learning* (Briston: Second Language Acquisition, 2009); Li Wei, ed., *Bilingualism and Multilingualism: Critical Concepts in Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[103] "We voted and the question was rejected with 39 to 31 votes. and Dr. Rupp must depart tomorrow. This has aroused an extraordinary amount of *indignation*." Schneider, 7 September 1846.
[104] "I accompanied Gustave home, we entertained us in English...." Schneider, 18 June 1847.

> garten, during I and Leonore, we stayed home. I was reading an interessant novelle: Sybille from A. Sternberg: Pocketbook Urania 1847, woraus ich mir auch mehreres abschrieb.[105]

In this case, the code-switching also indicates how long it was comfortable or interesting for Emil to sustain his observations in a foreign language.

Other examples of code-switching are more difficult to parse. At one point, Anna H. wrote in her diary in German about attending the celebration of a princess's birthday and described the gifts everyone else brought. Then she followed in French, "My mother did not allow me to make a gift."[106] It is possible she was worried about her mother reading the implied criticism or complaint, but it is more likely that Anna H.'s mother also would also have some command of French. Alternatively, it may be that this was simply a moment when Anna H. wanted to write with the elegance which French afforded her, perhaps because of the aristocratic context. As with conversational code-switching today, though, it could genuinely be used as a code, to conceal intimate details in a diary. Returning to Emil, we see one example of this from his diary at age 18 in which both his expression of feeling and the names of the girls he wrote about (Jucunde and Jettchen) have been disguised. In the middle of reporting in German on a social occasion, he began moving back and forth between languages:

> Character–observations. Jucunde, very graceful an admirable very kind to me an giving more hope to my heart than ever. Bötzow gefiehl mir außerordentlich durch sein freundliches und dennoch festes und braves Benehmen...Oncel Eduard, den Galanten zu den jungen Damen spielend. Tante Linna. Etwas zu wenig (nach ihren Wünschen wahrscheinlich) beachtet. Fritz St. Sehr einsilbig und passiv. Jettchen a complett rebus for me. She walked ever in solitude in the garden, eated an danced almost not at all, evited the other company, was not much vivible and several times She walked

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[105] "After dinner we read something aloud, then I slept a little because I had a headache and mother father and the two little ones went to the zoological garten, during I and Leonore, we stayed home. I was reading an interesting novel: Sybille from A. Sternberg: Pocketbook Urania 1847, from which I also copied several things." Schneider, 4 July 1847.

[106] "Ma mère ne me permettait pas de faire un ouvrage." Hasenfratz, 11 June 1841.

> alone with Mstr Meisner. I will not believe to must keep her able to be unfaithful to P. P."[107]

The long list of descriptions in German, excerpted here, was bracketed by sentences written in English about the young ladies he admired. Was this to conceal his inner feelings from prying family eyes—code-switching as a form of code? Or did his reading of sentimental English novels inspire this language choice? These diaries reveal a complex relationship between language choices (both within and beyond German) and the content which written language delivered.

Taste

Diaries allowed young people to write their way toward defining their tastes and opinions, or toward seeing themselves as individuals with their own tastes, feelings, goals, and self-discipline. That is, recording personal opinions in a diary was another means to assert the development of a certain kind of bourgeois selfhood. This included observations about the characters of family members and friends, activities they enjoyed, and a range of subjects from food to holiday celebrations. But one of the most common arenas of taste formation commented on in the diaries was books, as has been discussed earlier. These diarists used notes on their reading to practice articulating critiques, to express emotional relationships with narratives and characters, and to reflect on their own personalities and values. Two entries when Emil wrote about his novels of the moment especially underscore this use of literacy. In the first example, his slightly pompous assessment of a French picaresque novel indicated both his intentions for self-improvement through language study

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[107] "Character-observations. Jucunde, very graceful an admirable very kind to me an giving more hope to my heart than ever. Bötzow pleased me exceedingly with his friendly and yet steady and well-mannered behavior...Uncle Eduard, playing the gallant to the young ladies. Aunt Linna. Somewhat under-attended (probably in accordance with her wishes). Fritz St. very monosyllabic and passive. Jettchen a complete riddle for me. She walked ever in solitude in the garden, eated an danced almost not at all, evited the other company, was not much vivible and several times She walked alone with Mstr Meisner. I will not believe to must keep her able to be unfaithful to P. P." Schneider, 3 August 1847.

and his awareness that there might be morally dubious content in the book which he could enjoy but critique.

> My reading is now composed of the "Histoire de Gil-Blas de Santillane par Lesage," a book which, while it does contain a few boring parts because the sphere in which its hero moves is too low, is nonetheless written in a style which allows an attentive reader to find much morality, and for me especially it is an exercise in the French language.[108]

In the second example, Emil turned to English literature (in translation), with the popular sentimental novel *Paul Clifford* (of "it was a dark and stormy night..." fame).

> I am now reading *Paul Clifford* by *Bulwer[-Lytton]*. The beginning took place in such a low sphere and revealed so many corrupted principles that I did not at all want to read further. But the more the hero of the book draws nearer to virtue and is led toward recognition of his misdeeds...[the more my] interest in the novel grows tremendously. The writing style of Bulwer-Lytton is of the sort that so engages everything, feeling and heart of his reader, that one can hardly wrest oneself away from the book.[109]

Again, his review in the diary asserted himself as a judicious and moral audience. Here he also performed a sentimental and sympathetic self, whose opinions and reactions were molded through enthusiastic reading.[110]

Novels were not the only source of taste-defining self-formation, however, as with examples from Wilhelm's diary in which he wrote about his struggles with various philosophy texts. At one point, he wrote,

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[108] "Meine Lectüre bildet jetzt die 'Histoire de Gil-Blas de Santillane par Lesage', ein Buch, das wenn es auch einige langweilige Stellen enthält, da die Sphäre, in der sich der Held desselben bewegt, eine zu niedrige ist, doch in einer Art geschrieben ist, die einen aufmerksamen Leser viel Moral darin finden läßt, und das mir besonders eine Übung in der französischen Sprache ist." Schneider, 7 May 1846. *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* is a picaresque novel written by Alain-René Lesage between 1715 and 1731.

[109] "Ich lese jetzt *Paul Clifford* von *Bulver*. Der Anfang spielte in einer so niedrigen Sphäre und es wurden darin so viel verderbte Grundsätze geoffenbart, daß ich gar nicht weiter lesen wollte. Doch je mehr sich der Held des Buches der Tugend nähert und zur Erkenntniß seiner Verbrechen geführt wird...vermehrt sich das Interesse an dem Roman ungemein. Die Schreibart *Bulvers* ist von der Art, daß sie Alles, Gefühl und Herz seiner Leser so in Anspruch nimmt, daß man sich kaum von dem Buche losreißen kann." Schneider, 13 May 1846. *Paul Clifford* is an 1830 novel by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, translated into German in 1834.

[110] On this notion of selfhood, see Adrianne Wadewitz, "'Spare the Sympathy, Spoil the Child:' Sensibility, Selfhood, and the Maturing Reader, 1775-1815" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2011).

> I took many walks on my walking holiday, I always wanted to philosophize but could not get around to it. I read Zschokke's Alemontade and Harmonius, I did not yet quite understand them both, partly because I was not always entirely well and also occasionally not entirely pure.[111]

Wilhelm's self-criticism originated in his reading, but he also expressed a hope for future understanding and self-betterment.

Social relationships

As with letter writing, a diary recorded the development of a young person's social self, a subjectivity embedded in and formed by the relationships fundamental to a middle-class child's life. Though some scholarship on diaries has focused on the emergence of the ego, the crafted "I" of writing, the default pronoun of Marie's diary, for example, was plural: *we* went for a walk, *we* went to church, *we* celebrated a birthday. But in fact it was this social context which allowed Marie to write her way to a sense of self by distinguishing her own personality and habits from observations about the people around her, especially her sisters. For example, she complained about "a truly boring hour" when her sister Bertha, three years younger, spent the evening crying miserably for their mother, who was out of the house.[112] Bertha came in for more scorn in the diary with less explanation a few months later with the entry, "Bertha is a quarrelsome child."[113] While Marie's diary gives early intonations of a self-construction project, it is clearly part of a different practice than the more private examples from older youth. Marie's diary was regularly read by adult members of the household and these comments about her sister could presumably reach Bertha's ears. Yet these moments

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[111] "Ich machte in den Spaziergängen Ferien viel Spaziergänge, ich wollte immer philosophiren, konnte nicht dazu komme. Ich las Zschokkes, [(Johann) Heinrich (David) Zschokke] Alemontade und Harmonius, ich verstand beides noch nicht recht, theils weil ich immer nicht recht wohl war und auch bisweilen nicht ganz rein." Dieckhoff, 16 October 1838.

[112] "Zwischen 5 und 6 Uhr hatte ich Heute eine recht langweilige Stunde; nemlich es gieng so zu: Mutter gieng fort dann sagt immer Bertha "ich will eben mein Mütter sehn" in einem ganz kläglichen Tone." Seybold, 14 April 1830.

[113] "Bertha ist ein zänkisches Kind." Seybold, 2 July 1830.

show Marie implicitly asserting her sense of herself as mature and pleasant in contrast to her perception of her sister.

Family and friends filled the pages of these diaries not only because they were a record of daily interactions and activities, but also because the writers' observations of this social context influenced their own ideas about growing up. Anna Krahmer's entry on the occasion of her parents' anniversary gave a hint of reflections about her own future when she wrote, "The thought that my parents have lived together for 25 years now (not entirely without sorrow, but also indeed with effusive love and joy), made me so delighted."[114] This kind of social identity formation was not only inspired by relatives, as evidenced in the conversation with a family friend which Anna recorded:

> Madame Devrient told us her love and engagement story and blushed sweetly when she answered Mother's question of whether she really was fond of her husband— "yes, terribly!"[115]

That this exchange captured Anna's attention enough to write in her diary about it fits with her romantic preoccupations in other entries about her own desires and self-reflection.

Anna K. occasionally reported entire conversations in a scripted, supposedly verbatim format in her diary. The style, and indeed the content, was clearly novelistic, likely influenced by her own reading. The following exchange from the middle of a very long entry reflected a surprisingly direct discussion among three young people the nature of individual character development in general and Anna's faults in particular:

> Gustav: "You are not at all natural, Anna."
> I: "I am natural, but my nature is contorted and refined and polished, such that it is a necessity. I am always [of] <u>one nature</u>, but the nature is miserably impaired, more's the pity. I am pathetic."

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[114] "Der silberne Polterabend meiner lieben guten Eltern! Der Gedanke an das nun 25 jährige Zusammenleben (ohne Kummer zwar nicht, doch aber auch mit überschwänglicher Liebe und Freude), meiner Eltern machte mich so vergnügt." Krahmer, 3 March 1831.

[115] "Madam Devrient erzählte uns ihre Liebes- und Verlobungsgeschichte und errötete lieblich, als sie auf Mutters Frage, ob sie ihren Gatten recht lieb gehabt habe,— 'ja, fürchterlich!' antwortete" Krahmer, 16 May 1831.

> He: "Yes, why are you so. You were better before, that is true."
> I: "That is what you think; you liked my blunt, boisterous, open, honest character much better, when I said what I thought and did what I wanted!"
> ....
> But [Heinrich] kept silent and made as if he thought something else; still, precisely this calm, concentrated silence showed me that his inner eyes and ears were fixed on us.

Anna made a point of observing Heinrich's silent attention because the presence of the object of her affection during this interrogation surely added insult to injury. Her cousin and sister kept pressing, asking if she believed she would be better if they did not criticize her.

> I: "Not entirely; but I have something stubborn and tough in my nature and character, so there is a good reason for that."...
> If they had left me as I was—I thought—or only gently guided [me], like my mother; if the various relatives had let me bring myself up, I would truly be better! I have by nature a soft, clear temperament, and when one discovers his imperfections through his own experiences, then comes contrition, and thus the moment for improvement has arrived.[116]

The contrast of nature and cultivated refinement echoed Enlightenment concerns about children's education, with the older two demonstrating the contradictions of educating someone in naturalness and the gendered tensions of that ideal. Anna also reflected on the malleability of her own character, consenting to general notions of virtue and moral improvement but still resisting the controlling judgment of these meddlesome young relatives. Most importantly for this analysis, not only did she participate in this conversation

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[116] "Gustav: 'Du bist doch gar nicht natürlich, Anna.' Ich: 'Ich bin natürlich, aber meine Natur ist verdreht und verredet und verkünstelt, daß es eine Noth ist. Ich bin immer eine Natur, aber die Natur ist elend verkrüppelt, Gott sei's geklagt. Ich bin erbärmlich.' Er: 'Ja, warum bist Du so. Du warst früher besser, das ist wahr.' Ich: 'Das sagst Du; Dir gefiel mein plumper, ausgelassener, offener, ehrlicher Charakter, wo ich sagte, was ich dachte, und that, was ich wollte, weit besser!'...[Heinrich] schwieg aber, und that, als dächte er was anderes; doch gerade dies stile konzentrierte Schweigen zeigte mir, daß seine inneren Augen und Ohren auf uns gerichtet waren. Gustav: 'Wovon bist Du denn nun so?' Ich: 'Ja, ich weiß es nicht, doch glaube ich, man hat mich zunichte getadelt; wider Willen verredet.' Therese: 'Aber glaubst Du denn, daß Du von selbst gut und ohne Tadel besser würdest?' Ich: 'Nicht ganz; doch habe ich etwas störrisches, hartes in meinem Wesen und Charakter, so hat das seinen guten Grund.' Heinrich hörte aufmerksamer und neugieriger zu... Hätte man mich gelassen wie ich war—dachte ich—oder nur sanft geleitet, wie meine Mutter; hätten die verschiedenen Verwandten mich von mir selbst erziehen lassen, ich wäre wahrlich besser! Ich habe von Natur ein sanftes klares Gemüth, und wenn man durch eigenen Erfahrungen seine Unvollkommenheiten entdeckt, dann kommt die Reue und damit ist der Augenblick der Besserung gekommen." Krahmer, 25 September, 1831.

about selfhood and nature in a social context, but then returned to her diary to record it in this intriguing form. The authority of the dialogue elides the editing or at least imperfect remembering she surely made of these comments. She might have borrowed literary turns of phrase, made herself more persuasive, weakened their argument, or refrained from writing the cruelest of their criticisms. By composing and recording her perspective on the conversation and relationships, she inscribed a self in her diary.

Diaries served as a kind of nexus for the literacy work essential to the lives of middle-class children and youth. In addition to comments on the books they read, young writers' correspondence with friends and relatives received frequent mention in diary pages as well. Letters appeared frequently among diaries' common topics, with writers recording the arrival of family news or their impatience in waiting for anticipated letters. Narrating these epistolary interactions in the pages of a diary reaffirmed the writer's place within networks of families and friends and acknowledged development in the social literacy practice of letter writing. Marie diligently recorded letters she had written to her older siblings, away at school.[117] Anna H. wrote about correspondence with her brother Fridolin, who was studying in Heidelberg. "Out of sisterly love" and as a thank you for his repeated advice on her love affairs, she had sent Fridolin a tableau of their hometown. She was happy to hear in his letter that he enjoyed this gift, and even more glad to hear a favorable response on a query for his advice:

> [In the letter] he also gave me a brief answer to my question. He wrote: 'As long as the novels do not twist your thoughts, then it is quite alright!!!' I am entirely beside myself about this message. In his view, then, I had not made

[117] As one of many examples, an entire entry in February read, "Today I wrote to [her sister] Amalia." "Heute schrieb ich an die Amalia." Marie Seybold, 27 February 1830.

> the wrong choice, and it would be possible that I could accomplish the desired goal.[118]

Recording the good news in her diary, Anna H. had secured her brother's endorsement of her novel-reading—as long as it did not corrupt or change her—through these exchanged letters. At the intersection of novel reading, letter writing, and diary keeping, this incident again underscores how bourgeois youth used literacy in the development of social selves.

Inhabiting emotions

Just as emotions provided a point of self-examination in diaries, writing about sentiments and desires also contributed to the self-fashioning work of diary keeping. The diary could be a reservoir of confessions, a record of feelings about other people, a vehicle for emotional expressions, and a means toward crafting an affective self.[119] Indeed, this was feared by some early opponents of young people's diary writing, as in a 1786 work compiled by Campe, in which Peter Villaume wrote "Children either feel too strongly or not at all. For this reason, and in order to justify their behavior, and because they cannot handle language and writing, the resulting picture [of a diary] might be incomplete or distorted."[120] In a way this fear was borne out, as much of the self-constructing work of diaries was done through children and youth writing about emotions.

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[118] "In meiner Freude vergaß ich aber nicht an meinen Teuren in der Ferne zu denken. Dem lieben Fridolin hatte, ich aus meiner Schwesterliebe und mit der wiederholten Bitte mir Rath zu geben in meinen Liebes=angelegenheiten, das mir wo werthe Tableau von Donaueschingen geschickt. Nach einem Briefe den ich heute von ihm erhielt scheint es ihm viel Freude zu machen und so angesehen zu werden, wie ich es wünsche. Zu dem gab er mir auch eine kleine Antwort auf meine Frage. Er schrieb: 'Wenn nur die Romane dir nicht den Kopf verdrehen, dann ist es schon recht!!!' Ich bin ganz außer mir über diese Nachricht. Ich hätte denn nach seiner Ansicht, keine falsche Wahl getroffen, und es wäre möglich, daß ich das gewünschte Ziel erreichen könnte." Hasenfratz, 1 January 1841.

[119] Arianne Baggerman suggests that emotions and self-reflection were given little attention in most autobiographies, which was clearly different in these diaries. "Perhaps it was asking too much to expect these authors to pour our their hearts completely, to analyze their mistakes and shortcomings, to re-experience in writing their feelings of pain, sorrow, regret, and anger, or to celebrate on paper their moments of triumph and delight. After all, not everyone has the literary talent of Rousseau, who instantly won over his readers—including later literary theorists and historians—with his opening lines..." Baggerman, "Lost Time" (2011), 463.

[120] Quoted in Baggerman and Dekker (2009), 95.

In one example, Wilhelm's ambitions for his intellectual and moral self-betterment, as well as more prosaic signifiers of achievement, were expressed fervently in the final entry of his diary, after he had left school and returned to his parents' house.

> I stand now more individually, freely; I want to show what I can thus accomplish.— —
> But a dull mood remains ever me. Whence does it come? I cannot conquer it. The reason is probably that I am not who I should be!
> [Off] fresh to Tacitus![121]

He attributed his depression to anxiety about his self-improvement. Note that at least some of this self doubt was also *about* diary keeping, since this entry of resolutions followed a long unintentional hiatus in Wilhelm's writing. This ambition also affected his relationships with and feelings for others. When Wilhelm rhapsodized about his affection for his parents, he framed it as dictated by his bourgeois education:

> Yesterday I especially enjoyed a letter from Adelepsen. I really do have such good parents! Oh if only I could see your happiness for me once again! Oh, surely I will reward you one day, if I keep on living, and that shall be the best recompense for my labors.[122]

His desire to demonstrate his love for his parents would be satisfied, he believed, by cultivating a diligent, intellectual, virtuous adult self.

Parents were not always a source of delight and inspiration to self-improve. Anna H. wrote this striking passage in her diary after an intense argument with her mother:

> I met S. on the way to church. The children's communion. Jeanette ate with us. After the meal I joked with F.–
> When I wrote the lines above I was very agitated, my blood in a violent boil, because I had been badly scolded by Mother about a small thing. In my heat, I took to my room and let off steam there. Only when I was completely cooled down did I repair downstairs again and repent my tempestuousness. From a distance, however, I heard that a devilment had once again occurred.

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[121] "Ich stehe jetzt einzelner, freier; ich will zeigen, was ich so leisten kann.— — Aber stets bleibt mir eine dumpfe Stimmung. Woher mag sie kommen? Ich kann sie nicht besiegen. Der Grund ist wohl der, daß ich nicht bin, der ich sein sollte! Frisch an den Tacitus!" Dieckhoff, 19 June 1839.

[122] "Gestern erfreute mich besonders ein Brief aus Adelepsen. Ich habe doch eigentlich recht gute Eltern! O könnte ich Euch noch einmal durch mich glücklich sehen! O gewiß werde ich Euch einst belohnen, wenn ich das Leben behalte, und das soll der schönste Lohn für meine Arbeiten sein." Dieckhoff, 27 November 1838.

> The little Anna was very naughty and headstrong, so much so that the thought of why we must struggle only with strange children, was hazarded to me. I was on the point of my ferocity again—when I took Gerstenberg's Urgolino and removed myself.[123]

The clipped, bulletin sentences at the beginning of the entry were very different from Anna's usual style, giving a sense of how upset she was when she first sat down with the diary. The revolutions of feeling which she described derived from a conflict between her self-perception or attitude and her mother's perception and criticism of Anna. Painful as it seems the dispute must have been, writing this incident contributed to Anna's strengthening her sense of self through her diary.[124]

Among the fifteen-, sixteen- and seventeen-year-old diarists, there were quite a few cases of the lovelorn. In this context, the writing of desire and expressions of passionate feeling were part of identity formation, including the cultivation of a romantic self. Of course, these internal debates and reports on family interactions also had critical ramifications for young people's lives.

Right in character, Wilhelm's primary mode of romantic writing built on his reading of philosophy. In this elaborate description of a dream, the idealized, spiritual romantic feeling which he articulated was framed by his concerns about selfhood and growing up. He began the passage by referencing a philosopher, Zschokke, he was reading, who described a divine, innocent love. Wilhelm vowed in his diary that "this love or none at all [is what] I

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[123] "Ich begegnete S. auf dem Weg zur Kirche. Die Kindercommunion. Jeanette aß bei uns. Nach dem Essen scherzte ich mit F.– Als ich obige Zeilen schrieb war ich sehr aufgeregt, mein Blut in heftiger Wallung, weil ich von der Mutter wegen einer Kleinigkeit sehr gezankt wurde. Ich begab mich, in meiner Hitze, in mein Zimmer und tobte da aus. Erst dann, als ich ganz abgekühlt war begab ich mich wieder Hinunter und bereute meine Heftigkeit. Von weitem hörte ich jedoch, daß schon wieder eine Schmelerei vorfiele. Die kleine Anna war sehr unartig und eigensinnig, so zwar, daß der Gedanke, warum wir uns auch nur mit fremden Kindern quälen müssen, in mir wage wurde. Ich war auf dem Punkte wieder in meiner Heftigkeit <auszu---> als ich Gerstenberg's Urgolino nahm und mich entfernte." Hasenfratz, 18 April 1841.

[124] It is also interesting that her report of her self-controlled restraint in the end was facilitated through retreating to a *Sturm und Drang* play.

want to have for a girl one day."[125] This philosophical discussion was followed by the heading, "A DREAM," in which he visited his home on a beautiful autumn evening and reflected with wonder,

> Everything was just as always! Everything! only I, I alone had changed. The lively, cheerful boy had become a youth. Where once the boy sought pleasure only in games, there sat the youth now with thoughts about God, the world, and occupies himself, In rapid turns he wants to raise himself up out of the bodily world into the realm of the spirit, into the realm of truth and of light. Where once the boy joked mischievously, the youth now mused darkly on fate and the future.[126]

Suddenly he saw standing before him, "in clear beauty, surrounded by a soft rosy radiance, a girl, a girl from the higher spheres."[127] She told him that she was the spirit he longed for and that she would "accompany [him] through the universe back to our Father."[128] At this point, Wilhelm wrote out their long conversation about lofty aspirations and vague spiritual ideals. At the end of the dream, this vision said to him:

> Behold! I offer this pure spirit-love to you. Do not spurn it. And even if the corporeal world shall separate us for a long time, we will indeed meet some day in the eternal kingdom of the original spirit. Therefore stay true to me, do not market your love to earthly [beings]; I am your guide toward the Day of Light. Thus she spoke and still stood before me, the heavenly [being],

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[125] "Zschokke beschreibt eine heimliche Liebe, eine Liebe, die, wenn sie auf Erden findet, das göttlichste auf Erden ist. Diese kindliche, reine Unschuld kann nur höheren Sphären eigen sein. Und diese Liebe oder keine will ich einst für ein Mädchen haben. EIN TRAUM. An einem schönen Herbstabend ging ich in Adelebsen einsam auf dem Lustfelde lustwandeln." Dieckhoff, 17 December 1838.

[126] "Alles war noch so wie sonst! Alles! nur ich, ich allein hatte mich verändert. Aus dem munteren, fröhlichen Knaben war ein Jüngling geworden. Wo einst der Knabe nur im Spiel die Freude suchte, da saß jetzt der Jüngling mit Gedanken über Gott, die Welt und sich selbst beschäftigt. In raschen Schwüngen will er sich aus der Körperwelt erheben zum Reiche der Geister, zum Reiche der Wahrheit und des Lichts. Wo einst der Knabe mutwillig scherzte, dann sann jetzt düster der Jüngling nach über Schicksal und Zukunft.–" Ibid.

[127] "Da war mir plötzlich als winke mir eine Gestalt aufzuschauen; wie im Träume starrte ich empor, und vor mir stand in klarer Schönheit, von mildem rosigen Glanz umflossen, ein Mädchen, ein Mädchen aus höheren Sphären." Ibid.

[128] "Ich bin der Geist nach dem du dich sehntest. Ich werde dich durch das Weltall begleiten bis zu unserm Vater zurück." Ibid.

> regarding me with a radiantly joyful gaze. Then she bent to kiss my lips, I wanted to entwine my arms around her lovely figure—here I awoke.[129]

His deliberately chaste description of physical desire and intense spiritual longings here served an emerging subjectivity Wilhelm was beginning to craft and inhabit now that he perceived himself to leave childhood behind. This florid language was again a form of self-fashioning.

Anna K.'s diary betrayed perhaps the most lovesick writings of this group, filled as it was with regular reports of her feelings and hopes for her cousin Heinrich. Her excited state was palpable even when writing about his absence, as in this entry:

> In the afternoon, Gustav and Edmund Honig also arrived with their brother Rudolph, a friend, and Curt Klitzing, the cousin from Charlottenhof. Only H e i n r i c h is actually not coming now, because his exam is after Easter. Good and also not good! Good?[130]

Anna was uncertain of Heinrich's changing affections, and relied on her writing as an outlet for expressions of disappointment, loneliness, embarrassment, and resentment as well as excitement and delight. Much of Anna's imagination of herself as evident in the diary was related to her emotions about this relationship. One day, her sister Therese received a letter from their uncle and Anna's love interest Heinrich. Therese read aloud a passage where Heinrich commented on Anna dismissively, which prompted her outburst of hurt feelings in this diary entry:

> Oh, I deceived myself by believing and hoping that I could have so betrayed myself in these same [beliefs and hopes]! With the most bitter, serious, unloving tone in the world he says: I certainly must have wanted to playact a novel myself, because I wanted to ascribe one to him. They must be ideas

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[129] "Sieh! Diese reine Geist-Liebe bringe ich dir dar. Verschmähe sie nicht. Und wenn auch die Körperwelt auf lange Zeit uns trennen solle, einst treffen wir uns doch im ewigen Reiche des Urgeists. Darum bleibe mir treu, verkaufe deine Liebe nicht an Irdisches; ich bin deine Führerin zum Tage des Lichts. So sprach sie und noch immer stand sie vor mir, die Himmlische, mit freudestrahlendem Blick mich betrachtend. Da neigte sie sich, meine Lippe zu küssen, ich wollte die Arme um die reizende Gestalt schlingen—da erwachte ich." Ibid.

[130] "Am Nachmittag trafen noch Gustav und Edmund Honig ein, mit ihrem Bruder Rudolph, einem Freund und Curt Klitzing, dem Charlottenhofer Vetter. Nur H e i n r i c h kommt nun wirklich nicht, weil sein Examen nach Ostern ist. Gut und auch nicht gut!! Gut?" Krahmer, 2 April 1831.

> from the girls' school, which Therese would perhaps still drive out of me; little me should not yet even think of such a thing etc. Oh, how otherwise dear to me his name of "little" has always been. And now he uses it in such an unkind manner.

Again a link was made for Anna between novelistic awareness and the story she wrote of her own life. In this case, however, the fiction to reality connection was used against her as an explicitly gendered criticism. She concluded that this exchange meant the end of their romance, and went to her diary for the comfort or self-understanding which writing out these emotions offered.

> How could I bear it, that he still interests me, when I am unremarkable or even displeasing to him. I do not even want to hate him, that would be too much interest; I want to scorn him for his inconstancy, for that he was otherwise good to me, of that I do not yet have any doubt. I feel it will be hard for me to tune myself from highest interest, from the most intimate friendship immediately down to deepest indifference.– But I should be indifferent to him![131]

Even while she tried to repress her feelings, Anna acknowledged a strong sense of self-knowledge. Again, writing emotions served the self-formation work of diary keeping. A final note: after reading all this anguish, perhaps you will be relieved to know that it was not the final word on their relationship. In fact, Anna and Heinrich were married some seven years after she wrote this diary entry.

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[131] "Therese, Gustav Honig und ich saßen im Cabinett, während die Uebrigen Whist spielten. Da kamen die Gratulationsbriefe an Therese von unserm Louis und Heinrich Honig. Während meine Schwester las, führten wir beide unsre Unterhaltung fort, in welcher uns aber auf einmal ein schallendes Gelächter von Therese störte. Mit von Lachen halb erstickter Stimme, las sie eine Stelle aus Heinrichs Brief vor, dessen Inhalt eine Antwort auf meine Neckereien mit Helene Klitzing, in dem Briefe an meine Brüder enthielt. Diese Antwort sollte mir kundthung, ob ich mich in meinen Bemerkungen von Weihnachten gar getäuscht habe. Ach ich täuschte mich, indem ich glaubte und hoffte, daß ich mich in denselben betrogen haben könnte! Mit dem bittersten ernstesten, lieblosesten Tone von der Welt meint er: Ich hätte gewiß Lust, selbst einen Roman zu spielen, da ich ihm einen andichten wollte. Es seien Ideen aus der Mädchenschule her, die mir Therese vielleicht noch austreiben würde; ich Kleine dürfte ja an so etwas noch nicht denken etc. Ach wie lieb war mir sonst immer der Name "Kleine" von ihm. Und nun braucht er es auf eine so lieblose Weise. Unser bisheriges Verhältnis muß nun aus sein. Wie könnte ich es ertragen, daß er mich noch interessirte, wenn ich ihm gleichgültig oder gar unangenehm bin. Ich will ihn nicht einmal hassen, das wäre zuviel Interesse; verachten will ich ihn seiner Flatterhaftigkeit wegen; denn daß er mir sonst gut war, daran zweifle ich auch jetzt noch nicht. Ich fühle, es wird mir schwer werden, mich vom höchsten Interesse, von der innigsten Freundschaft unmittelbar zur tiefsten Gleichgültigkeit herabzustimmen.—Doch gleichgültig soll er mir werden!" Krahmer, 11 February, 1831.

Conclusion

Concluding her compelling analysis of Martha Ballard's diary, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich writes, "To celebrate such a life is to acknowledge the power—and the poverty—of written records. Outside her own diary, Martha has no history."[132] What would we know about the lives of Marie Seybold, Anna Krahmer, Wilhelm Dieckhoff, Anna Hasenfrath, Luise Vorwerk, and Emil Schneider without the evidence of these diaries? Luise made a minor appearance in local history because she married a notable Hamburg politician. Marie might have shown up in the correspondence or family records of her famous male relatives. All these writers are noted as simple dates in genealogical research. But the only one who became well-known later in life is Wilhelm, and despite making an impact on the written record through his professional career, he is also the diarist whose early life is still the most obscure out of this group. Uncovering the daily experiences of children and youth—documented from their own perspective—is a benefit of reading these diaries, one that enriches any investigation of pedagogy.

As I have argued, however, diaries also reveal how the selves which young middle-class writers developed during their childhood and youth were continually examined and reshaped. In their diaries, young people conducted self-surveillance over time, for the purpose of moral and intellectual self-improvement. They also pursued self-formation through crafting a written persona, a socially-embedded identity with tastes, habits, and attitudes. Though this could be said about diaries kept by writers of any age, it is important to keep in mind the part this self-examination and self-fashioning played in the developing subjectivities of diarists who were still very young. Commenting on the frequent scattering of signatures throughout the pages of children's diaries, Sánchez-Eppler suggests, "Writing

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[132] Ulrich, 343.

serves these young people as a tool for conjuring more adult selves."[133] Most of these six diarists occasionally used their diaries in an intentional way to separate their emerging selves from childhood.

In an early entry of Emil Schneider's diary, for example, his description of the family's activities show him intent on distinguishing himself from the little boys in his circle:

> On the way I came across Jettchen, mother, and Mademoiselle Behrend, who had been out walking, and then on Unter den Linden, Frau Majorin, Clärchen, and Adolph, who were going to the druggist. Adolph, as old and tall as I am, seemed to be of a serious nature. The boys were enjoying themselves immensely by the acrobats and gave me a lot of trouble with their wildness.[134]

Emil's idea of a mature individual, his image of himself, was drawn in opposition to childish fun. The younger Luise observed at one point in her travels through Paris,

> After that we spent another hour or so in the Tuileries, where we took amusement at the children who, under the supervision of nurses and in the shade of the trees,were playing very happily here.[135]

As a young lady on a grand journey with her parents, she now saw herself as distinctly different from the little children playing in the garden. However, even as she was writing her way toward a more grown-up identity, she was still enough of a child that her parents took her to a play designed for young audiences.

> In the evening a delight awaited me that I had never before enjoyed,—we went to the theatre. They presented a French play—Margot, or the consequences of a good education, performed by children, which, even though I did not understand everything, still amused me endlessly.[136]

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[133] Sánchez-Eppler, 20.

[134] "Unterwegs begegneten mir Jettchen, Mutter, und Mad. Behrend, die spazieren gewesen waren, und dann unter den Linden der Frau Majorin, Clärchen und Adolph, die zu Apotheker gingen. Adolph, so alt und groß wie ich, scheint ernsten Charakters zu sein. Die Jungen amüsirten sich bei den Seiltänzern außerordentlich und machten mir durch ihre Wildheit viel zu schaffen." Schneider, 22 April 1846.

[135] "Hierauf brachten wir noch ein Stündchen im Tuileriengarten zu, wo wir uns über die Kinder belustigten, welche hier unter der Aufsicht der Bonnen und in dem Schatten der Bäume sehr vergnügt spielten." Vorwerk, 17 May 1842.

[136] "Abends wartete meiner ein Vergnügen, dass ich noch nie genossen hatte,—wir gingen ins Theater. Man gab ein französisches Stück—Margot, ou les suites d'une bonne éducation, von Kindern gespielt, welches, ob ich auch nicht alles verstand, mich doch unendlich amüsierte." Vorwerk, 1 May 1842.

As much as consuming media like this didactic play was part of the "good education" of bourgeois childhood, so, too, was the self-reflection and self-production of diary writing. An explicit statement on this liminality of the developing self in the diaries of children and youth comes from an 1831 entry by Anna Krahmer. She reported,

> I was called away from the dollhouse today to receive a visit from Herr Vogel. Just think, I lingered-—and I am 16 years old!! When will the jolt come which will make me completely grown up?———[137]

Even Anna, who thought she would marry young and whose diary was full of thoughts of romance, was aware that she had not yet fully left childhood behind.

When did this project of self-building finish? Certainly the cultivation and reformation of self was a lifelong process. For each of these writers, though, there came an end to diary writing, and to a certain phase of self-construction. Emil, for example, decided to give up writing at age 18. His last entry reported the news that the object of his affection, Luise Stachow, was engaged to be married. This disappointment had sparked a fervent plan of self-reform for Emil, aiming toward "the purest virtue" and "all attainable knowledge." He decided that this program would leave little time to continue writing. But in explaining his reasons for leaving the diary behind, Emil spelled out the conditions that would invite returning to it in the same breath. In a rare second-person address, he wrote,

> When I have become noble enough to do great deeds, when important life experiences hope to leave important memories, then I will want to seek you

[137] "Von der Puppenstube wurde ich heute zur Annehmung einer Visite des Herrn Vogel abgeholt. Man denke, ich zauderte—und bin 16 Jahre!! Wann wird der Ruck kommen, der mich gänzlich erwachsen Macht?------" Krahmer, 28 April 1831.

> out again and entrust you with my secrets, because now you are too small for the great movements in me, and too big for the pettiness around me.[138]

Even in leaving the diary of his youth behind him, Emil could imagine that momentous life events and internal transformations would someday require this practice again as a means of documenting his great deeds and thoughts.

The ending of each diary may be considered another way. When I sit down to read her diary again, Marie is always ten years old, fixed on its pages as the child self she recorded in 1830. Yet in her case, the archive has also captured more of what followed that document's conclusion. The flourishing of diary-keeping as pedagogy in the later nineteenth century and intergenerational transmission of this practice is illustrated by Marie's encouragement of her son Hermann's writing in the 1850s, a cultural priority that was reinforced the subsequent preservation of both sets of papers as precious evidence of bourgeois domestic education.

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[138] "Die reinste Tugend soll mein Streben sein, alle mir erreichbaren Kenntnisse will ich zu erlangen suchen, alles Große, Edle, Schöne kennen lernen, und alles Niedrige und Elende verachten und verwerfen. Dazu möge mich der allmächtige Gott stärken und kräftigen. Seine Pfade will ich aufsuchen und streng ihnen folgen. so werde ich auch wenig Zeit haben, dies Tagebuch fortzuführen und sage ich ihm hiermit Lebewohl, wenn ich edel genug geworden bin, um große Thaten zu thun, wenn wichtige Lebensereignisse wichtige Erinnerungen hoffen lassen, dann will ich dich wieder aufsuchen und dir meine Geheimnisse anvertrauen denn jetzt bist du mir zu klein für die großen Bewegungen in mir und zu Groß für die Kleinlichkeiten um mich her." Schneider, 30 August 1847.

CHAPTER 7
"Und sie lebten vergnügt bis an ihr Ende": (Happily Ever After) Conclusions

The project of self-cultivation in which child writers engaged was perhaps most directly transparent in their diaries. But active child readers also participated in the construction of modern selfhood through their letter writing, geography study, and reading of fairy tales and Enlightenment periodicals. Children's reading and writing practices informed their developing subjectivities and were in turn generative of ideas about the self that were crucial to the major social and political transformations of the age of revolutions. In the ambiguous, generative interplay between discipline and agency that characterized German middle-class education, children's practices and perspectives thus demand our closer attention.

This dissertation has shown how active reading and writing became a defining feature of middle-class childhood as idealized and practiced over the course of this pivotal era. While similar dynamics did play out in other cultural realms, the genres analyzed here illustrate major developments in educational pedagogy and practices, including changing ideas about amusement and instruction, sentiment, autonomy, discipline, gender, and the family. In pursuing answers to the questions posed in Chapter 1, I have sought to investigate the active participation of children in modern constructions of the self. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed an early wave of changing expectations about childrearing and also about the role of literacy in raising and teaching children. These expectations have become increasingly influential around the world, which means that today there continue to be high stakes for educators, families, and children in the "uses of literacy" traced in this dissertation.

Why did children begin take the stage as actors in the historical development of new ideas about self-discipline, sentiment, and selfhood? For the *Bildungsbürgertum*, their children's

education was understood as a critical component of success justified through merit rather than birth. Thus in the same historical setting that produced state projects aimed at governing the popular classes through schooling, the middle-class endeavor focused on producing self-disciplined individuals through the instruction of Enlightenment ideals and pedagogies emphasizing child agency as a path to success for their own children. The chapters of this dissertation have uncovered in detail how education in a variety of settings within and beyond school walls—from children acting out periodical plays at home, to adults retelling fairy tales, to letter writing that connected families across distances—influenced European society, culture, and personhood.

Consequent to the particular interest of middle-class families and educators in promoting education aimed at developing the individual child, a set of transformations facilitated the emergence of the active children. German families and educators began to understand childhood as a life stage that mattered deeply in the formation of the self within a web of social relationships. As the Grimms reframed their fairy tale collection explicitly for a child audience, for example, they emphasized the moral lessons young readers would gain by reading fantastic stories. In striking new ways, adults worried about entertaining and engaging children in active ways in their education. Even geography textbook authors were concerned with the amusing qualities of their work. Therefore, capturing children's attention and shaping their response as readers became a preoccupation, as evident in the vocative addresses from writers of youth periodicals. Sentimental attitudes and aesthetics increasingly influenced children's learning, as apparent in the rhetoric that children practiced in their correspondence with parents. At the same time, and indeed through that mechanism of sentiment and affection, pedagogues and parents emphasized the cultivation of self-

discipline. Diary writers show this in their intermingling of monitoring their industry, use of time, feelings, and relationships.

As a contribution to historical method and theory beyond this specific case, the dissertation has also demonstrated why it is essential to consider children's agency in historical analysis. Studies like this one, that work to capture both the practices of children and the prescriptive ideology of adults, are important for deepening our understanding of developments in the history of the family, education, and the self that still influence our modern world. Education has both disciplinary and emancipatory qualities. Rather than dismissing the disciplinary aspects of pedagogy, on the one hand, or overlooking the power of children to influence adults, on the other, my approach throughout this dissertation has emphasized the mutual constitution of agency and discipline—constituents of modern child and adult selfhood—in determining how children influenced European modernity.

Even while education worked to govern and cultivate a particular kind of middle-class citizen, children still could respond with some degree of autonomy. They could reinforce the changing ideology of childhood, as in their letter writing that dutifully performed the bourgeois tasks of literate self recording and attestation of newly emphasized affectionate expressions, but that also simultaneously encouraged the expression of children's voices. They could also make new meanings based on their own lived experience—think here of the multiplicity of possible readings offered by the sometimes ambiguous messages of fairy tales. And they could resist their education, through misreading, refusing to study, or altering the physical texts of their education, as in the transgressive marginalia I have uncovered in geography textbooks, or the family conflicts young writers recorded in their diaries.

Such examples speak to the key intervention I hope to make in this study. Acknowledging the important interplay between agency and discipline complicates an orderly narrative from absolutist pedagogies based on rote learning to emancipatory learning by revealing earlier practices that allowed for children's creativity or imagination, as well as reminding us that more recent educational strategies purporting to be liberatory are also forms of discipline. It also undermines that teleology and polarity by showing the persistence of pedagogic practices that disciplined children alongside others that allowed for expressions of agency. Through the productive field of the history of children's education, these chapters have demonstrated that we need more nuance to understand such relationships and dynamics.

In uncovering elusive evidence about the roles played by children, this study also contributes to histories of the modern self. I have sought both to acknowledge subjectivities as historically constituted and also to investigate the choices that young people made within constraints. German children participated in the construction of modern bourgeois selfhood through their negotiation of relational autonomy in childhood. Periodicals for children reveal the adult actors' presumption of children's active involvement in social life, for example, in authors' use of this genre to advance ideas about a gendered "selfless self" for young readers. The relationship between youth education and subjectivity is also evident in how diarists used writing to distinguishing their personalities.

Children's experiences and their part in historical developments such as the modern reimagination of selfhood have been neglected by historians partly because sources for answering these questions have been difficult to locate. In answer to that methodological problem, I have gathered empirical evidence of pedagogic practices across genres and archives. The question of how children have learned in modern German families and how

that has changed over time demands creative interpretations of the production, circulation, reading, and writing of pedagogic texts and other sources. Although historians have only recently begun to explore children's writing, in practice writing and reading were intertwined in this context. Meanwhile, children's reading and writing presents an intriguing site of intersection between adult aims to shape children's responses and the agency of the child readers themselves. By including children's writing and thinking imaginatively about children's reading, this dissertation is concerned with more than adult pedagogues' idealization of what and how children should learn.

The materials I have brought together in this study show a pattern of changing reading and writing practices that have supported my arguments about sentiment and self-discipline. What follows is a summary of the key conclusions I have drawn from each genre, specifically highlighting how my analysis in each chapter shows the emergence of the active child reader.

Just as agency and discipline are mutually constituted, Chapter 2 revealed a productive tension between learning and fun in Enlightenment youth periodicals. As evidence of the larger dynamics at play in this dissertation, the rise of the genre itself reflected pedagogues' concern for capturing the attention and money of a newly defined audience, as well as influencing moral character. The pedagogic use of serial publications underscored this era's reimagination of childhood as a separate stage of life. The periodical format furthermore provided an easy means of generating new texts quickly that were written for new child readers as a guide to moral action and emotional expression. These texts thus brought Enlightenment ideals into a domestic setting. Though much of the content may appear predictably didactic on the surface, the variety of forms employed in youth periodicals underscores the goal of engaging the reader's attention in order to cultivate

a new kind of bourgeois child subject who was self-controlled, diligent, compassionate, and educated—and chose to read for pleasure.

But, as I have shown, the active child reader is evident in youth periodicals not only through authors' explicit articulations of their pedagogical goals, but also in the possibilities for readers afforded by the forms that were popularized in periodicals: the use of illustrations, the presentation of dialogues to act out, and the invitations of frame narratives and serialization to solicit identification between readers and characters. The particular and diverse strategies of these periodicals highlight different ways child readers might have used and misused them. From the use of direct addresses to forge intimate links with child readers to dialogues which elevated children's voices, stylistic techniques and formal elements of the new youth periodicals document changing reading practices for German children. Some aspects evolved in response to new visions of how children should read, such as the transition from separate prefaces addressed to parents to texts entirely directed at children.

In Chapter 3, I contended that the Grimms' transformation of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in the early decades of the nineteenth century promoted a certain set of middle-class values around class and family—the family sociology children learned through reading, hearing, and retelling fairy tales. Through observing the family practices redefined and elaborated across editions of these stories—what was included and, as important, what was deleted—I revealed the Grimms' attempt to construct a particular subjectivity by situating child readers within social expectations of family relationships and middle-class habitus. I suggested that this furthered the emergence of the active child reader in two ways: first, in using stories to cultivate class-based subjectivities and second, through the *KHM*'s offering of amusement, humor, magic, imagination, and ambiguous readings. Because the Grimms were especially direct about the ways in which their project transitioned from scholarship

into pedagogy over this period, I was able to follow a method of tracking the historical development of fairy tales within a social context. Carefully noting changes in editions over time with attention to how it might affect children's possible interpretations is an approach I intend to carry forward into future research.

I traced how the *KHM* transformed from a set of stories oriented toward either their "folk" authors or literary audiences, into a conduct manual whose moral lessons better served the aims of an urban middle-class. But children's agency also surfaces in the history of fairy tales through the genre's especially close ties to an oral tradition, which produced ambiguous effects in those reading and listening to such stories. I have proposed that some features of these tales invited children to make their own interpretations and retellings, which is another direction to pursue in future development of this work.

Although fairy tales and geographic schoolbooks may seem the farthest apart today among this set of genres in terms of their typical use and attention to pleasure, the authors involved in both genres actually shared an overlapping vision of the child audience they constructed. Fairy tales and geography also share something else, which is the radical transformation the genres experienced over the course of this period. For geography, a descriptive approach and rigid, memorization-driven instruction in the eighteenth century gave way in the nineteenth century to a social science concerned with the dynamic relationship between humans and nature, which demanded an active, problem-based pedagogy. In Chapter 4, I argued that those changes were driven not only by epistemology and scientific trends, but also by growing concern for child readers' amusement, an association of learning about the world with the family and the home, the orientation of children in space as explorers and armchair travelers, an increased emphasis on map-reading

and the use of atlases in schools and increasingly gender-segregated reading. I see each of these developments as evidence of the active child reader paradigm.

By looking both at what authors claimed they were doing and at the content of geography textbooks, world histories, and atlases, I have identified various interesting features with implications for what and how children learned. Schoolbooks moved from a catechetical to a problem-based model, one that was carefully calibrated to respond to what authors saw as the specific needs of children's knowledge, morality, and attention. The chapter also uncovers a new focus on "child-oriented" texts: first, through pedagogues' self-explanation, second, in the growing emphasis on amusing child readers, and third, as changing gender presumptions shaped the educational methods considered appropriate for girls versus boys. What knowledge of the world did children gain through these new texts? Children could locate themselves in the world through a contradictory emphasis on the very local (the home) and the global (as imagined explorers). Feeding nationalist ideas, stimulating colonial desire, and raising respectable middle-class citizens who could carry their armchair geography into business, cultural pursuits, and the education of the next generation—these were all equally important purposes of the new geographic education.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I turned to questions concerning children's writing. I will emphasize again that I see both reading and writing as offering occasions for child agency. The two pedagogic practices were deeply intertwined and activities that were seemingly conducted autonomously—such as keeping a diary—were often exactly what children were encouraged or required to do in order to demonstrate the accomplishments of their middle-class education. Similarly, didactic repertoires in texts children read may, despite or even because of an authoritarian tone, have in fact elicited widely varying and independent interpretations. The practices of self-formation to which children themselves contributed

thus occurred within the intersection of agency and discipline in both reading and writing. Writing was certainly used by teachers and parents to promote self-control, time-keeping, and obedience to conventions and adult authorities. But it was still a mechanism children themselves could deploy, for humor, for resistance, in imitation, to develop a voice, for self-fashioning and self-expression, or to negotiate family relationships. Children were agents of their own education even while they were governed by disciplinary practices, and the evidence of children's writing surveyed in this study reveals that.

In Chapter 5, I showed how the rise in and accompanying attention towards children's letter writing is evidence of the active child model. In particular, I focused on social literacy practices. Much more than ephemeral artifacts, letters served as a key instrument for the social development of children and also document pedagogic exercises in which children and adults alike engaged. The letters I have analyzed show bourgeois children participating in household affairs and social networks from very young ages. Young letter writers practiced adult conventions and asserted their important place in the family by reporting news from home and discussing practical concerns; performing bourgeois accomplishments and sentimental expressions; and cultivating social connections that would be important in adulthood. In my analysis of this rich corpus, I demonstrated how children used letters as a means of learning sociability, building relationships within kinship networks, and developing socially situated selves. In fact, the growing significance of children's correspondence in the social life of the family is reflected in the very archiving practices that led to the conservation of letters like these.

The preservation of early and mid-nineteenth century diaries in archives today similarly indicates the increasing importance placed on young writers' self-reflections of the time. From the perspectives of pedagogues, teachers, and parents, shifting conceptions of

children's interiority in this era made diary keeping a practice useful both to develop discerning, reasoning subjects and to educate the emotions. I argued in Chapter 6 that writing instruction was not the most significant reason why these children and youth kept diaries and continued writing for years. Instead, my reading of a range of examples revealed that they used their diaries as rich territory for crafting and negotiating subjectivities as they grew up. It was through narrating ordinary everyday events, I argued, that children and youth forged socially situated selves while at the same time they dutifully fulfilled the pedagogic purpose of diary writing. As a mechanism for both self-surveillance and self-formation, diary writing allowed young people simultaneously to satisfy pedagogic demands for continual self-evaluation, and to use their daily reflections for forging identities, asserting personal taste and opinions, and growing up. I traced how youth diaries thus reveal essential contributions of the active child writer to constructing modern European selfhood.

Although the generic qualities of each practice are important to understanding the different roles diaries, letters, schoolbooks, folktales, and periodicals played in children's education during the age of revolutions, one disadvantage of this dissertation's chapter structure is that it artificially separates many themes that cut across genres. I will name only a handful of these here, as examples of the concerns I see echoing from one chapter to the next. First, concern with transmitting to children a shared set of middle-class moral values was emphasized through each genre: diligence and obedience, sensibility and compassion, and intellectual development without the threat of transgressive curiosity. Anticipating the rise of "child experts" in the later nineteenth century, each of these genres at some point began to emphasize pedagogic authority based on knowledge of children's peculiar needs (for example, with geographic schoolbooks increasingly published not by geographers but by teachers, or the Grimms' transition from philologues to authors of the most popular

children's book of all time). Another issue that appeared across texts written for children was the proper balance between amusement and serious study, heavily debated by pedagogues in various settings.

The intersection of class and family in shaping subjectivities also carried across reading and writing practices, although my analysis emphasized this most prominently in the chapters on fairy tales and letters. Finally, as is evident in my recurrent attention to the gendered nature of children's education, each genre presented different aspects of gender ideologies and expectations for the reading and writing practices of girls versus boys. Reading was understood as a powerful device in the dissemination of evolving gender ideologies. Age- and gender-appropriate reading was promoted for the moral lessons and self-discipline it could teach, but the wrong sort of reading was also regarded as a potential threat. For young writers, gender shaped many aspects of the daily lives and modes of expression that appear in their letters and diaries; however, the differences between girls and boys in their educational practices appears to have been more salient for older youth than for young children. Further systematic comparison of the types of writing analyzed here, by girls and boys as they grew into young women and men, may yield further understanding of how gender and age intersected to shape children's learning experiences.

Outcomes and New Questions

In its attention to children's participation in the transformation of childhood, this dissertation has pursued new paths of inquiry while also shining a light on still unexplained issues. Each genre analysis has generated further questions about the practices and meaning of children's education, as is evident in the breadcrumbs I have dropped throughout the chapters as signposts for future research. Here, I will only briefly address three important ways I see of extending this work: following leads for additional investigation, broadening

the scope of the study, and opening up new questions as outcomes of the dissertation's arguments.

Following leads for additional research includes issues such as the question of reader (and listener) response to fairy tales, gestured at in the coda to Chapter 3. There, I suggested that various features of the *KHM* as a text reveal different possibilities for child readers' interpretations of ambiguous messages in the tales. Pursuing evidence from personal narratives and archives may provide answers to a number of questions about how children understood the stories and lessons of fairy tales. Did adults' and children's own reading and retelling change over time, just as the Grimms' versions evolved over decades? Where, how, and with whom do adults remember reading fairy tales in their youth? What reactions to tales of extreme obedience, fantastic fortunes, or transgressive bawdy humor can be found in records outside the tales themselves?

As with any historical project, the scope of this study could be expanded by exploring conditions in earlier and later decades; addressing other kinds of evidence, such as the ABC books of early childhood; or measuring in finer degrees the regional, confessional, gender, and age distinctions in these practices. But perhaps the most significant aspect of the study design that deserves deeper consideration moving forward are the geographic bounds of the family history and pedagogy I have investigated. In other words, what was particularly German about the reading and writing practices uncovered here? This dissertation has argued that the nineteenth-century *Bildungsbürgertum* is especially important for understanding modern ideas about and experiences of childhood because such developments emerged earlier and more emphatically in this milieu than elsewhere. Certain German families lived at the leading edge of a construction of childhood that has become increasingly hegemonic in the western world. The question remains, however: was this simply a class-specific,

transnational pattern that witnessed its first significant expressions in Central Europe? Or, was there something unique about childhood and parenting in the German context? Broadening the scope to answer this robustly would require further comparative and transnational research.

Finally, the most promising set of questions sparked by this study concern the connections between political revolution and revolutions in childhood. In identifying the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a critical era for the history of European childhood, this dissertation has already suggested that family life may be understood as an incubator of political and social change. But there is a more particular version of this inquiry that would seek to explain generational effects such as those that produced the German student movements in the early nineteenth century or the cohort of 1848 revolutionaries. How did these actors' childhood experiences, forged as many of them were in a new educational landscape that emphasized the individual child's agency, shape their later political ideas about autonomy and political selfhood? How did new forms of middle-class pedagogy shape class and gender predispositions of these generations? The dissertation has endeavored to trace the genealogy of modern western middle-class practices of childrearing, including a still unresolved tension for parents who simultaneously aim to produce autonomous subjects and hope to reproduce themselves. But there are politics behind this uneven, complex trajectory that deserve further elaboration.

Against a backdrop of political and economic revolution, the making of modern German childhoods happened through further revolutions in family life, education, and fundamental ideas about the child's nature. Accordingly, the consequences of this history reverberate far beyond any particular pedagogic practice. Through the entanglement of agency and discipline that characterized children's relationships with adults, the history of

childhood is also a history of politics, of the self, of the individual in society, of everyday life. Far from passive recipients or blank canvases, children actively participated in these transformations. Consider the exchange over writing about the weather recorded in 10-year-old Marie Seybold's diary, with which this dissertation opened: the most directive adult expression on those pages is in fact instructing the young writer, paradoxically, to be more creative and independent. I have sought to explain such moments and also more simply to illuminate the contradictions of children's agency. To uncover the meaning and influence of the active child reader and writer, such extraordinary sources are invaluable to historians. The lively spirit revealed in these texts also makes it impossible to ignore their creators.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives and Research Libraries

Germany

ALEKI Arbeitsstelle für Leseforschung und Kinder- und Jugendmedien in Köln (Center for Children's and Young-Adult Media Research)

BBF Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung (Research Library for the History of Education)

BLHA Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Brandenburg Main State Archive)

DLA Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach (Museum of Modern Literature)

DTA Deutsches Tagebucharchiv in Emmendingen (German Archives for Diaries)

GEI Georg-Eckert Institut für Schulbuchforschung in Braunschweig (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research)

GNM Germanisches Nationalmuseum Historisches Archiv in Nürnberg (German National Museum Historical Archives)

IJF Institut für Jugendbuchforschung (Institute for Youth Book Research)

LAB Landesarchiv Berlin (Berlin State Archive)

LAS Landesarchiv Schleswig (Schleswig State Archive)

Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (Baden-Württemberg State Archive)
- HSAS Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (Central State Archives of Stuttgart)
- SAL Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (Ludwigsburg State Archive)

LLB Lippische Landesbibliothek in Detmold (Lippe State Library)

Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv (Lower Saxony State Archives)
- HSAH Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (Main State Archive in Hanover)

SBKJA Staatsbibliothek Berlin Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung (Berlin State Library Children's and Young People's Book Department)

WLB Württembergische Landesbibliothek (State Library of Württemberg)

France & the United States

BHJ Bibliothèque de l'Heure Joyeuse (Library of the Joyful Hour)

BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France)

CCL Cotsen Children's Library at Princeton University

Unpublished Family Papers

Familienarchiv Alberti-Reinhardt-Widenmann. 1811-1812. Q 3/60 Bü 118. [HSAS]

Familie von Alvensleben. 1801-1825. Dep. 83 B Nr. 238. [HSAH]

Gutsarchiv Breitenburg Familienarchiv. 1762-1813. Abt. 127.21 FA L 6-58. [LAS]

Nachlass Familie von Brüsselle. 1855-1874. PL 13 Bü 791. [SAL]

Wilhelm Dieckhoff. Diary. 1838-1839. 644. [DTA]

Nachlass James von Dobbert. 1854-1857. ZR 7735. [GNM]

Ferdinand Freiligrath. c. 1810-1835. Youth library and papers. [LLB]

Familiennachlass Fuhrmann. 1748-1752. E Rep. 061-07 Nr. 1. [LAB]

Anna Hasenfratz. Diary. 1841. 1491.1. [DTA]

Nachlass Julius Hölder. 1825-1835. Q 1/37 Bü 41. [HSAS]

Anna Krahmer. Diary. 1830-1831. 1677/II. [DTA]

Nachlass Theodor Lehmann. 1830-1861. Abt. 399.1094. [LAS]

Carl and Adolph von Lüneburg. Schulhefte. 1816-1821. Dep. 122 Nr. 92. [HSAH]

Familienarchiv der Grafen zu Lynar auf Lübbenau. 1823-1838. Rep. 37 Lübbenau Nr. 5761/5. [BLHA]

Familienarchiv Freiherren von Neurath. 1799-1856. Q 3/11 Bü 41. [HSAS]

Nachlass Carl Heinrich Pathe. 1819-1839. 200-09. [LAB]

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Nachlass Theodor Roller. 1792-1862. Q 2/9 Bü 145. [HSAS]

Herzöge von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg. 1769-1818. Abt. 122 Nr. 135. [LAS]

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Familiennachlaß Schmidt. 1797-1864. Q 3/48. [HSAS]

Emil Schneider, 1846-1847. 1754/I.2 [DTA]

Eugen Franz von Seeger. 1798-1807. Q 3/28 Bü 101. [HSAS]

Familienarchiv von Sturmfeder zu Oppenweiler. 1792. B 139 a I Bü 975. [SAL]

Wilhelm von Tschirschnitz. 1840-1851. Hann. 91 Acc. 183/95 Nr. 112. [HSAH]

Luise Vorwerk. Diary. 1842. 1682/II. [DTA]

Nachlass Hermann Weise. 1813-1866. E Rep. 200-12. [lAB]

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